

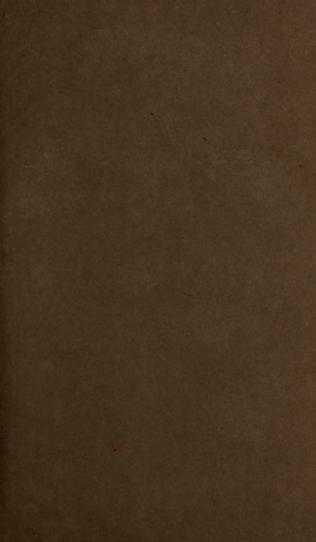
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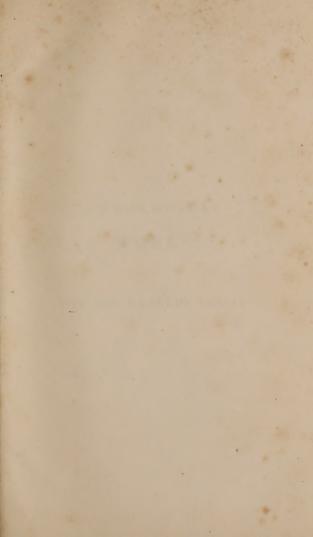
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THEOLOGICAL

THE REV CHARLES LESLIE

THE

THEOLOGICAL WORKS

OF

THE REV. CHARLES LESLIE.

THEOLOGICAL

WORKS

OF

THE REV. CHARLES LESLIE.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. VII.



OXFORD,
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A ASSESSMENT OF THE PARTY OF TH

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FIVE DISCOURSES

UPON THE

FOLLOWING SUBJECTS:

WATER BAPTISM,
EPISCOPACY,
PRIMITIVE HERESY REVIVED,
REFLECTIONS ON THE QUAKERS.
A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE SOCINIAN TRINITY.



PREFACE

TO THE

FIVE DISCOURSES.

THE following treatises being out of print, it was thought best to reprint them in the same volume^a with the Snake and Defence, that that author's works upon this subject might be all alike, and more portable: so that if others of them should be reprinted, or new added, it will be no preiudice to them who have this.

There is one small thing added to this, which was wrote before that author did engage with the Quakers. It is a letter concerning the Socinian Trinity: but it is as proper for the Quaker as the Socinian controversy, for they are all one upon this point: and the Quakers have the same salvos as the Socinians to reconcile their Trinity, making it only three manifestations, or operations; and are answerable in the same manner as the Socinians for the many absurdities and blasphemies of this their notion of the Trinity, which they have taken up to avoid the far less difficulties which they apprehended to be greater in the catholic doctrine of three Persons in one and the same pure essence and substance.

This small thing, being only a letter to a private friend, (which he procured to be printed,) was not meant to comprehend all that controversy, but to give, in short, a sum-

^a [This arrangement is necessarily altered in the present edition: and though this preface speaks of *five* Discourses, the fifth was omitted in this place, having been already printed as the first letter in the Socinian controversy. It will be found in vol. ii. p. 27. of the present edition.]

mary view of it, to shew the unreasonableness of their exceptions, and that they are divided into more and more contradictory and fundamentally material, different and opposite hypotheses, than what they object in the several explanations of the orthodox upon that unfathomable and glorious mystery.

But if it please God to lend that author health and ability, he intends to consider of that controversy with greater care; he not thinking it sufficient to have proved the Quakers to be Socinians, (though many of them know it not,) without likewise shewing the fallacy and weakness of those principles and prejudices upon which both of them do proceed: which was not the business of his works against the Quakers, they denying themselves to be Socinians, and laying that imputation upon others with great contumely and contempt, as is shewed in the Snake, vol. iv. sect. xi. p. 153. It was enough upon that point to let them and the world see that they were real, though not nominal Socinians.

But if God shall so bless his labours, as to speak to the heart of the Socinian heresy, then will not only they and the Quakers be detected for merely nominal Christians, but the truth of the Christian religion will be more and more vindicated, and we be still further confirmed and built up in our most holy faith:

Quod faustum faxit Deus!

A DISCOURSE

PROVING THE

DIVINE INSTITUTION

OF

WATER-BAPTISM:

WHEREIN THE QUAKER ARGUMENTS AGAINST IT ARE COLLECTED AND CONFUTED.

With as much as is needful concerning

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

If ye love me, keep my commandments. John xiv. 15.



PREFACE

TO THE

DISCOURSE ON WATER-BAPTISM.

As baptism is putting on Christ, giving up our names to him, being admitted as his disciples, and a public profession of his doctrine; so the renouncing of our baptism is as public a disowning of him, and a formal apostasy from his religion.

Therefore the Devil has been most busy in all ages (but has prevailed most in our latter corrupt times) to prejudice men, by many false pretences, against this divine institution. Having been able to persuade some quite to throw it off as pernicious and hurtful; others to think it only lawful to be done, but to lay no great stress upon it, and so use it, where it is enjoined, as a thing indifferent: others deny it to infants upon this only ground, that they are not supposed capable of being admitted into the covenant of God, which he has made with men; for if they are capable of being admitted into the covenant, there can be no reason to deny them the outward seal of it.

But this being foreign to my present undertaking, which is to demonstrate to the Quakers the necessity of an outward or water-baptism in the general, (for as to persons capable of it, we have no controversy with those who deny it to all,) therefore I have not digressed into another subject, which is that of infant-baptism, in the following Discourse.

I. Yet thus much I will say of it in this place, that infants are capable of being admitted into the covenant, and therefore that they cannot be excluded from the outward seal of it. The consequence the Baptists cannot deny.

And that they are capable, I thus prove: They were capable under the law, and before the law, of being admitted as members of the covenant in Christ to come, made with Abraham by the seal of circumcision at the age of eight days: and therefore there can be no reason to exclude them from the same privilege to the same covenant now that Christ is come, unless Christ had debarred them from it; the law standing still as it was, where he has not altered or fulfilled it. But he has not debarred them; nay, on the contrary, he has yet further confirmed their being within the covenant. He called a little child. (Matt. xviii. 2, 3, 5.) and set him in the midst of his apostles, and proposed him as a pattern to them and to all adult Christians, and said that none should enter into the kingdom of heaven, except those who should become as little children: and that whoever did receive a little child in his name did receive Christ himself. And, (ver. 10.) In heaven their angels (saith Christ) do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven. And therefore he bids us take heed that we despise not one of these little ones; by which term, though adult persons are sometimes meant, vet in the text before quoted it is expressly applied to little children. And what greater despising of them can be, than to reject them as no members of Christ's body, and consequently unworthy of the outward seal of his covenant?

Christ was displeased with his disciples (Mark x. 14.) for hindering young children to be brought unto him: and will he be pleased with the Baptists for the same thing? He took the little children up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them. Did he bless those who were not capable of being within his covenant? He said, Of such is the kingdom of God, (which is a term our Saviour used to express the covenant of the gospel.) Are they not then within the covenant of the garents is a Christian (1 Cor. vii. 14.) the children are holy, that is, within the covenant of Christ: and pursuant to this, when any man was converted, his children were baptized with him-

self. This is the meaning of what we read so often in the Acts, that such a man was baptized with his household. And it was the custom before with the Jews, that when they admitted any man as a proselyte to their religion, they baptized his children with himself. Let this suffice for the present: and proceed.

II. When rebellion had fully completed itself in the murder of the king, 1648, it soon spawned a multifarious schism of thirty or forty different religions in England at the same time, of which catalogues were then printed; most of all these threw away baptism, and threatened an immediate and total overthrow of the Christian religion in this island: but, by the great mercy of God, the restoration of the church, with the king, 1660, has extinguished the very names and memory of these, all but four or five of the principal sects; the Presbyterians, (mother of all the rest,) Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers, and Muggletonians. I am told of some Sweet-singers got up of late; but they are yet inconsiderable: they may increase, and all the rest revive, if warmed by a plenitude of indulgence. The Socinians, or Unitarians, are already got very high, who make nothing of the sacraments but as ineffectual forms. So think the Deists, who pretend to higher quality than these: and the Latitudinarians will quarrel with none of these. All Deists are Latitudinarians; and though they despise baptism, and all revealed institutions, vet they can submit to them, because they are established by law, as they would to any thing else, rather than lose a penny or their ease. But the Quakers and Muggletonians have (more sincerely) rejected baptism as not allowable, because they think so.

III. The Presbyterians, Independents, &c. do indeed use baptism; but as a thing so indifferent, that many of them will suffer a child to die without it, rather than baptize it privately, or not upon a sermon or lecture-day, or before sermon, rather than after it: and an instance can be given since this late establishment of presbytery in Scotland, of a child who died in the church in sermon-time; but the

minister suffered that, and the repeated requests of the parents, rather than go out of his wonted method of baptizing after sermon; he thought baptism so little material!

But the people being used to a greater veneration of baptism under the episcopal administration, and taking the Presbyterian contempt of it somewhat uneasily, the Presbyterian ministers there, to instruct them better, had public preachments all over the nation, to shew the no-necessity of the outward or water-baptism. I will not say the English Presbyterians go so far: they are one degree further from the league and covenant. I hear that they do now administer baptism privately in and about London: which the Independents do still refuse, (I have it from some of themselves,) let the case be never so urgent, even though the child should die without it, before one of their sermon or lecture-days. As for the other sacrament of the Lord's Supper, I hear that some Independent congregations in London are come to use it monthly, and the Presbyterians more frequently than they used to do, or than they do in other places; the frequency of communion in the episcopal churches in some manner forcing them to it, that their people might not think themselves more neglected by them than others are. But their own inclination, and the value they have for this sacrament, will better appear by their behaviour while they had the power in their own hands, and could dictate to others instead of following or complying with them. And during their government in the late revolution, though they did not downright (as the Quakers) declare war against it, and extirpate it at once, vet they plainly seemed to have had a design to have inched it by degrees out of the world, as far as it was in their power, by letting it fall into desuetude, that so it might be forgotten and die. And they had almost effected it among those unhappy people that were led by them: for from the birth of their covenant, A. D. 1638, they had not this sacrament in many parishes in Scotland, some for ten, some for twelve, some for fifteen years, which was almost their whole reign; and in the indulged and connived at parishes, to the year 1683, many persons, (who were not debarred for any exception against them,) some of fifty, sixty, seventy, and eighty years of age, never received this sacrament once in their lives. This I know from certain information. And since their present establishment in this revolution their neglect of this sacrament is likewise notorious; four years after which, viz. in the year 1693, it had not been administered in Edinburgh, and but once a year at the most since. We may imagine then how it has been observed in the country parishes.

IV. The Presbyterians in the north of Ireland are a sprig of the Scotch covenant transplanted thither; which in that change of soil has taken deep root, and spread intolerably. And the bishop of Derry, (now abp. of Dublin,) in his late clear and rational Discourse concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God, and two following admonitions, has made it fully appear that not one in ten of them do ever receive this sacrament in the whole course of their lives; and the rest very rarely, even now since this last revolution. And in the former revolution of forty-one he gives undeniable instances that in several churches, even in Dublin, after the turning out of the episcopal ministers, the Lord's Supper had not been administered till the restoration, 1660, that is, in some churches for ten, in some for twelve years together.

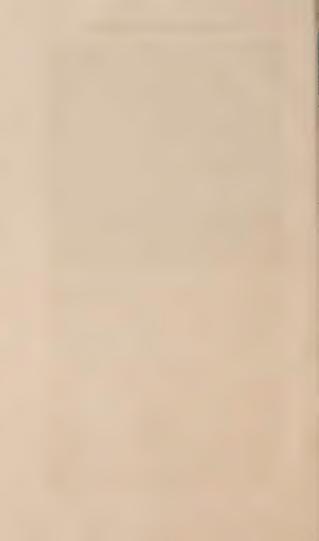
V. These Presbyterians in Dublin, and in the south and west parts of Ireland, were sent from England, and had learned the contempt of this sacrament there; where, even in Oxford, it was not administered in the whole university from the ejection of the episcopal clergy, in the year 1648, to the restoration, in 1660, as is observed in the Antiquit. Oxon. So that the Quakers have only taken that out of the way which the Presbyterians had worn into disuse.

VI. And from all these enemies, and the subtle insinuations which they have broached in prejudice of Christ's holy institution of Baptism, and likewise of the Lord's Supper, (for both are slighted by the same persons, and upon the same grounds,) it is to be feared that several even of the church of England have been wrought, though not into a disuse, or downright slight, yet into a less esteem, and greater indifferency as to these holy sacraments than they ought, and consequently receive less benefit by them; much less than if their knowledge and their faith were better rooted, and more sublime: nay, there is not any degree of indifferency but what is culpable in this case, and may bring a curse with it instead of a blessing; for whatsoever, especially in religious worship, is not of faith, is sin; and according to our faith it is to us in all our performances of religion.

VII. For all these reasons, though this Discourse was wrote wholly on behalf of the Quakers, yet I hope it will not be unuseful to many others, to see the strong foundation, great necessity, and inestimable benefits of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, when duly administered, and received with full faith and assurance in the power and love of God, that he will not fail to assist his own institutions, when we approach unto them with sincere repentance and undoubting dependance upon his promises. And many of the objections hereafter answered, though used by the Quakers to invalidate baptism, are likewise insisted on by several of the sects, which I have named above, to lessen and disparage it: in which sense the following Discourse, though it respects the Quakers chiefly, yet not them only, for it contains the joint arguments of all the several sizes of the opposers or contemners of baptism.

VIII. But as to the immediate occasion which engaged me in this work, it was upon the account of a particular person, who had been educated from his childhood in the Quaker principles and communion. And the objections which are here considered against baptism are these, which at several conferences with other Quakers to whom that person brought me, were insisted upon. At length, after more than twelve months' consideration of this single point, and diligently reading over and weighing every particular which Rob. Barclay had wrote in his Apology

against the outward or water-baptism, it pleased God so to open the eyes and persuade the heart of this gentleman, that, having informed himself in the true principles of the Christian religion as contained in our Church Catechism, he has lately with great joyfulness and satisfaction received the baptism of Christ as administered in the church of England: and it was his desire that this Discourse (though wrote for his private use) might be made public, in hopes that it may have the like effects upon others as it has had upon himself, by the great mercy of God. And I knowing several others who have of late been convinced and baptized in the same manner as this gentleman, I have not resisted his invitation to contribute my mite towards the recovery of so many thousand souls as now for forty-six years have thrown off the sacraments of Christ's institution, and thereby, as one main cause, have lost the substance, even faith in the blood of Christ outwardly shed for our salvation, as I have elsewhere shewn. The Lord accept my mean endeavours, and make them instrumental to his glory and the salvation of souls. Amen.





DIVINE INSTITUTION

OF

WATER-BAPTISM.

SECT. I.

That Matt. xxviii. 19. was meant of water-baptism.

THE words of the text are these, Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

The Quakers will not own that the baptism here mentioned was the outward or water-baptism; which I will endeavour to make very plain that it was; and that, in the first place,

From the signification and etymology of the word baptize.

1. The word is a Greek word, and only made English by our constant usage of it; it signifies to wash, and is applied to this sacrament of baptism, because that is an outward washing.

To wash and to baptize are the very same; and if the word baptize had been rendered into English, instead of Go and baptize, it must have been said, Go and wash men in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. So that the outward baptism with water is as much here commanded as if it had been expressed in English words, or as we can now express it.

But because the word baptize was grown a technical term in other languages, whereby to express the holy sacrament of baptism, long before our English translation, therefore our translators did rightly retain the word baptize in this text, Matt. xxviii. 19, and in other texts which speak of that holy sacrament.

But in other places they translate the word baptize, as Mark vii. 4, When they come from the market, ἐὰν μη βαπτίσωνται, except they are baptized: which we literally translate, except they wash. And in the same verse, βαπτισμούς ποτηρίων, &c. the baptisms of cups and pots; which we translate, the washing of cups and pots. And Heb. ix. 10, speaking of these legal institutions, which stood only in meats and drinks, and divers washings, and carnal ordinances, &c., the word which we here translate washings is in the original βαπτισμοῖς, baptisms; in meats and drinks, and divers baptisms. And in the Vulgar Latin the Greek word is retained in both these texts: Mark vii. 4, Nisi baptizentur, non comedunt; "Except they are baptized," i. e. wash their hands, "they eat not:" and, Baptismata calicum, &c.; the "baptisms of cups," &c. And Heb. ix. 10, In cibis et potibus, et variis baptismatibus: i. e. "in meats and drinks, and divers " baptisms." So that it is plain that the word baptism and the word washing, though not the same word, have yet the selfsame meaning.

2. It is true that the word *baptism* is often taken, in a figurative and allegorical sense, to mean the inward baptism, the washing or cleansing of the

heart; but so is the word washing also as often, as Jer. iv. 14, &c. And there is scarce a word in the world but is capable of many figurative and allegorical meanings. Thus circumcision is very often used for the inward circumcision or purity of the heart; and fire is taken to express love, and likewise anger, and many other things.

But it is a received rule for the interpretation of scripture, and indeed of all other writings and words, that the plain literal meaning is always to be taken, where there is no manifest contradiction or absurdity in it: as when a man is said to have a fire burning in his breast, it cannot be meant of the literal fire: so when we are commanded to wash or circumcise our hearts, and the like. But, on the other hand, if any man will take upon him to understand words in a figurative sense at his own will and pleasure, without an apparent necessity from the scope and coherence, he sets up to banter, and leaves no certainty in any words or expressions in the world. Therefore I will conclude this point of the natural signification and etymology of the word baptize: and unless the Quakers can shew an apparent contradiction or absurdity to take it in the literal signification in this text, Matt. xxviii. 19, then it must be meant of the outward washing or baptism, because that is the only true and proper and literal signification of the word.

And it will be further demonstrated in the next section, that there can be no contradiction or absurdity to take it in a literal sense, because the apostles, and others thereunto commissionated by them, did practise it in the literal sense.

SECT. II.

- That Christ did practise water-baptism. II. That the apostles did it after him. III. That the catholic church have done it after them.
- I. THAT Christ did practise water-baptism. It is written, John iii. 26, And they came unto John, and said unto him, Rabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou bearest witness, behold, the same baptizeth, and all men come to him.

That this was water-baptism there can be no doubt, because,

- 1. The baptism with the Holy Ghost was not yet given; for that was not given till the day of Pentecost, fifty days after the resurrection of Christ, as it is recorded in the second of the Acts. This spiritual baptism was promised, John xiv. 16, 26—xv. 26—xvi. 7: and the apostles were commanded to tarry in the city of Jerusalem till it should come upon them, Luke xxiv. 49.
- 2. The Quakers allow that John did baptize with water, and there is no other sort of baptism here mentioned with which Christ did baptize; and therefore, these baptisms being spoke of both together, there can be no reason to interpret the one to be with water, and the other not. It is said, John iv. 1, The Pharisees heard that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John. How could the Pharisees hear of it, if it was not an outward and visible baptism? for, as before is said, the outward and miraculous effects of the baptisms with the Holy Ghost were not then given: and since it was an outward, it must be the water-baptism, for there was then no other.

Obj. But the Quakers start an objection here, that it is said, John iv. 2, Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples.

- (1.) Answ. Though Jesus himself baptized not, yet it is said in the verse foregoing, that he made and baptized; i. e. those whom his disciples, by his order, baptized. For if it had not been done by his order, it could not be said that he had baptized those whom his disciples baptized; but because "he "that doeth a thing by another" is said to "do it "himself," therefore Christ himself is said to have baptized those whom his disciples, by his order, did baptize.
- (2.) That baptizing which Christ is said to have administered himself, John iii. 26, might have been at another time than that which is mentioned in the fourth chapter; and then the consequence will only be this, that at some times Christ did baptize himself, and at other times he left it to his disciples: though, as to our argument, it is the same thing whether he did it himself, or commanded his disciples to do it; for either way it is his baptism, his only; his disciples did but administer what he commanded.

II. As Christ himself did baptize with water, and his disciples by his commandment, while he was upon earth; so did his apostles, and others thereunto by him commissionated, after his death and resurrection, by virtue of his command to them, Matt. xxviii. 19, after he was risen from the dead.

What is said above of the etymology and true signification of the word *baptize*, is of itself sufficient to prove, that by *baptism* in this text the outward baptism with water is meant, especially till

the Quakers can shew any contradiction or absurdity in having the word taken in the proper and literal sense in this and the other texts which speak of it.

And this will be very hard to do, since, as it is just now proved, that Christ did baptize with water as well as John. And what absurdity or contradiction can be alleged, that his apostles should administer the same sort of baptism after his death as he had practised and commanded during his life? Nay, rather, what reason can be given why they should not be the same, since the same word, i. e. baptize, is used in both; and no new sense or acceptation of the word is so much as hinted? and therefore to put any new sense or acceptation of the word must be wholly arbitrary and precarious.

But, as I promised, I will demonstrate yet more fully and plainly that the apostles did practise the outward, i. e. water-baptism, after Christ's death.

Acts x. 47. Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized?

Acts viii. 36. As they (Philip and the eunuch) went on their way, they came to a certain water: and the eunuch said, See, here is water; what doth hinder me to be baptized?—And (ver. 38.) they went both down into the water, both Philip and the eunuch; and he baptized him. And when they were come up out of the water, &c.

Acts xxii. 16. And now why tarriest thou? arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins.

And, to save more quotations, the Quakers do own that the baptism of the Corinthians, mentioned 1 Cor. i. 14 and 17, was water-baptism.

Therefore I will conclude this point as undeniable, that the apostles did practise water-baptism.

And the argument from thence will lie thus: the apostles did practise the baptism which Christ commanded, Matt. xxviii. 19; but the apostles did practise water-baptism: therefore water-baptism was that baptism which Christ commanded, Matt. xxviii. 19.

III. And as the practice of the apostles is a most sure rule whereby to understand the meaning of that command which they put in execution; so the practice of those who immediately succeeded the apostles, who were cotemporaries with them, and learned the faith from their mouths, is as certain a rule to know what the practice and what the sense of the apostles were. And thus the practice of the present age, in the administration of water-baptism, is an undeniable evidence that this was the practice of the last age; the same persons being many of them alive in both the last and the present age. For one age does not go off the world all at once, and another succeed all of perfect age together; but there are old men of the last age, and young men and children growing up to another age, all alive upon the earth at the same time: and mankind being dispersed into far distant countries and climates, who know not of one another, nor hold any correspondence: it is by these means morally impossible for any man or men to deceive us in what has been the universal and received practice of the last age, to which the present age is so linked, that it is even a part of it; I say, it is impossible for all the fathers of the world to be supposed willing, or, if they were, to be capable, of imposing upon all younger than themselves, namely, that they had been all baptized, and that this was an universal

received custom; and of which registers were always kept in every parish of all who had been from time to time baptized; and that such registers were public, and to be recurred to by all that had a mind to it: every man's reason will tell him that it is utterly impossible for such a thing to pass upon mankind.

And as certainly as the present age is thus assured of the practice of the last age, in a thing of so public and universal a nature; so certainly, and by the same rules, must the last age know the practice of the age before that; and so backward all the way to the first institution, to the age of Christ and the apostles.

The public nature of this water-baptism, as now practised, being an outward matter of fact, of which men's outward senses, their eyes and ears, are judges; not like matters of opinion, which sort of tares may be privately sown, and long time propagated, without any remarkable discovery: and to this so public matter of fact, adding the universal practice of it through all the far distant nations of Christianity; I say, these two marks make it impossible for the world to be imposed upon; nor was it ever, or ever can be, imposed upon in any such public matter of fact so universally practised. All this makes it undeniably plain, that the last age did practise the same outward water-baptism which is practised in this age; and that the same was as certainly practised in the age before the last age; and by the same rule in the age before that; and so onward, as above said, to the age of the apostles. I have made more words of this than needed; but I would render it exceeding plain, considering with whom I

have to do. And I beseech them to consider, that all the authority which they have to overbalance all these demonstrations is the mad enthusiasm of a lay-apostle, George Fox; a mechanic so illiterate, that he was hardly master of common sense, nor could write English, or any other language; and started up amongst us in the year 1650, (the age of schism and rebellion,) and damned as apostates all ages since the apostles.

In all of which no one could be found (before G. Fox) to bear their testimony against this water-baptism, though it was constantly and universally practised; and that Christians were then so zeal-ous as to contend against the least variation or corruption of the faith, even unto death, and the most cruel sort of martyrdom.

Can any man imagine, that if water-baptism were a human invention, or superstitiously either continued or obtruded upon the church, no one should be found for 1650 years to open his mouth against it, when thousands sacrificed their lives for matters of much less importance?

But I have overlaboured this point to any man who will give himself leave to make use of his reason: therefore I will proceed to the next section.

SECT. III.

That baptism must be outward and visible, because it is an ordinance appointed whereby to initiate men into an outward and visible society, which is the church.

THERE goes no more towards the proving of this, than to shew, first, that the church is an outward and visible society. Secondly, that baptism was appointed and used for initiating or admitting men into the church.

First, That the church is an outward and visible society. Our Saviour calls it a city that is set on a hill, Matth. v. 14. The Quakers themselves are an outward and visible society, and so are all those who bear the name of churches upon earth: they could not otherwise be churches; for that implies a society of people, and every society in the world is an outward and visible thing.

And, as it is so, has an outward and visible form of admitting men into it; for otherwise it would not be known who are members of it. Every society is exclusive of all others who are not of that society, otherwise it could not be a society; for that supposes the men of that society to be thereby distinguished from other men; and that supposes as much that there must be some outward and visible form whereby to initiate men, and entitle them to be members of such a society, otherwise it could not be known who were members of it, and who were not: and it would thereby ipso facto cease to be a society: for it could not then be distinguished from the rest of mankind; as a river is lost in the sea, because it is no longer distinguished from it, but goes to make up a part of it.

From hence it appears that the church, being an outward and visible society, must have some outward and visible form to initiate men, and make them members of that society.

Secondly, That baptism was that outward form. All the several baptisms that were before Christ's, were all meant for initiating forms. The Jews had a custom long before Christ to initiate the proselytes or converts to their religion, not only by circumcision, but by baptizing or washing them with water. The same was the meaning of John's baptism, to make men his disciples: and the same was the meaning of Christ's baptism, to initiate men into the Christian religion, and make them disciples of Christ.

Hence baptizing men, and making them his disciples, mean the same thing. Thus John iv. 1, it is said, that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John; that is, he baptized them disciples, which was the form of making them such. If any will say that he baptized them to be disciples to John, that will be answered sect. VI. But as to the present point, it is the same thing whose disciples they were made; for we are now only to shew that baptism in the general was an initiating form.

And when Christ practised it as well as John, as this text does expressly declare, no reason can be given that he did not use it as an initiating form as well as John; especially when the text does express that he did make them disciples by baptizing them, as above is shewn.

And pursuant to this, when Christ sent his apostles to convert all nations, his commission of baptizing was as large as that of teaching, Matth. xxviii. 19, Go teach all nations, baptizing them, &c. i. e. baptizing all who shall receive your word. And accordingly it is said, Acts ii. 41, They that received the word were baptized; pursuant to what the apostle had preached, ver. 28, Repent and be baptized.

And accordingly we find it the constant custom

to baptize all that were converted to the faith. Thus Paul, though miraculously converted from heaven, was commanded to be baptized, Acts xxii. 16. And he baptized Lydia, and the gaoler, and their households, as soon as he had converted them, Acts xvi. 15, 33; and the Corinthians, Acts xviii. 8; and the disciples of John who had not yet been made Christians, Acts xix. 5. Philip did baptize the eunuch as soon as he believed in Christ, Acts viii. 37, 38: and Peter, immediately upon the conversion of Cornelius and those with him, said, Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized? Acts x. 47.

It would be endless to enumerate all the like instances of baptism in the New Testament; and it was always used as an initiating form.

Thirdly, Baptism was not only an initiating form, but it served for nothing else; for it was never to be repeated. As a man can be born but once into this world, so he can be but once regenerated, or born into the church, which is therefore in scripture called the *new birth*.

It is said of the other sacrament, (of the Lord's Supper.) As often as ye eat this bread, &c. 1 Cor. xi. 26. This was to be often repeated.

Baptism is our admission, initiation, or birth, into the society of the church, and accordingly once only to be administered: the Lord's Supper is our nourishment and daily food in it, and therefore to be often repeated.

And as of our Saviour's, so of other baptisms, of John's, and the Jews', they being only initiating forms, they were not repeated. The Jews did not baptize their proselytes more than once; and John

did not baptize his disciples more than once. So neither were men twice baptized into the Christian faith, more than they were twice circumcised, or admitted into the church before Christ.

Thus having proved, first, that the church is an outward and visible society; secondly, that baptism was the initiating form of admitting men into that society; thirdly, that it was only an initiating form: I think the consequence is undeniable, that this baptism must be an outward and visible form; because otherwise it could be no sign or badge of an admission into an outward and visible society; for such a badge must be as outward as the society.

Again, acts of an inward faith are and ought to be often repeated; therefore this baptism, which could not be repeated, could not be the inward, but the outward baptism.

And thus having proved that baptism commanded Matth, xxviii, 19, to be the outward, that is, waterbaptism; 1. from the true and proper etymology and signification of the word; 2. from the practice of Christ and his apostles, and the whole Christian church after them; and, 3. from the nature of the thing, baptism being an ordinance appointed only for initiating men into an outward and visible society, and therefore never to be repeated: having thus proved our conclusion from such plain, easy, and certain topics, I will now proceed to those objections (such as they are) which the Quakers do set up against all these clear demonstrations; and shall accordingly, in the first place, take notice of their groundless pretence in making that baptism commanded in the holy gospel, and proved an ordinance external and visible, to be understood only of the inward and spiritual baptism, not with water, but the Holy Ghost.

SECT. IV.

Quakers say, first, that the baptism commanded, Matth. xxviii. 19, was only meant of the inward and spiritual baptism with the Holy Ghost.

THEY say this, and that is all: they neither pretend to answer the arguments brought against them, such as these before mentioned, nor give any proof of their own assertion: only they say so, and they will believe it, and there is an end of it.

And truly there should be an end of it, if only disputation or victory were my design; for to what nonplus can any adversary be reduced beyond that of neither answering nor proving?

But because the pains I have taken is only in charity for their souls, I will overlook all their impertinency, and deal with them as with wayward children, humour them, and follow them through all their windings and turnings, and submit to overprove what is abundantly proved already. Therefore, since they can give no reason why that baptism commanded Matth. xxviii, 19, should be meant only of the baptism with the Holy Ghost, and would be content that we should leave them there as obstinate men, and pursue them no further; but let them persuade those whom they can persuade: by which method (unhappily yielded to them) they have gained and secured most of their proselytes, by keeping them from disputing or reasoning, and by persuading them to hearken only to their own light within. To rescue them out of this snare, I will be content to undertake the negative, (though

against the rules of argument,) and to prove that the baptism commanded Matth. xxviii. 19. was not the baptism with the Holy Ghost. For,

1. To baptize with the Holy Ghost is peculiar to Christ alone: for none can baptize with the Holy Ghost but who can send and bestow the Holy Ghost; which is blasphemy to ascribe to any creature.

Christ has indeed committed the administration of the outward baptism with water to his apostles, and to others by them thereunto ordained; and has promised the inward baptism of the Holy Ghost to those who shall duly receive the outward baptism.

But this cannot give the apostles, or any other ministers of Christ, the title of baptizing with the Holy Ghost, though the Holy Ghost may be given by their ministration; for they are not the givers, that is blasphemy.

And pursuant to this, it is observable, that none is ever said in scripture to baptize with the Holy Ghost but Christ alone; The same is he who baptizeth with the Holy Ghost, John i. 33.

And therefore, if that baptism commanded Matth. xxviii. 19. was the baptism with the Holy Ghost, it would follow that the apostles could baptize with the Holy Ghost, which is blasphemy to assert.

2. It is written, John iv. 2, that Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples. If this was not meant of water-baptism, but of the baptism with the Holy Ghost, then it will follow that Christ did not baptize with the Holy Ghost, but that his disciples did.

This, in short, may suffice in return to a mere pretence, and proceed we next to consider if their main argument also prove as unsupported and pre-

SECT. V.

The great argument of the Quakers against water-baptism is this: John's baptism is ceased; but John's baptism was water-baptism; therefore water-baptism is ceased. This their learned Barclay makes use of.

1. IT is so extremely childish, that if it were not his, no reader would pardon me for answering to it: yet, since they do insist upon it, let them take this easy answer; that John's water-baptism is ceased, but not Christ's water-baptism. All outward baptisms were water-baptisms, as the word baptism signifies, (see sect. I.) The Jews' baptism was water-baptism as well as John's; and by this argument of Barclay's the Jews' and John's may be proved to be the same. Thus; the Jews' baptism was water-baptism; but John's baptism was water-baptism; therefore John's baptism was the Jews' baptism.

And thus, Christ's baptism was John's, and John's was the Jews', and the Jews' was Christ's; and they were all one and the selfsame baptism, because they were all water-baptisms.

So without all foundation is this great rock of the Quakers, upon which they build their main battery against water-baptism.

2. It will be proper here to let them see (if they be not wilfully ignorant) what it is which makes the difference of baptisms; not the outward matter in which they are administered, (for that may be the same in many baptisms, as is shewn;) but baptisms do differ, (1.) in their authors; (2.) in the different form in which they are administered;

(3.) in the different ends for which they were instituted.

And in all these the baptism of Christ does differ vastly from the baptisms both of John and the Jews. (1.) As to the author: the baptism of the Jews was an addition of their own to the law, and had no higher author that we know of; but John was sent by God to baptize, John i. 33: and it was Christ the Lord who was the author of the Christian baptism. (2.) As to the form: persons were baptized unto those whose disciples they were admitted by their baptism. Thus the proselytes to the Jewish religion were baptized unto Moses; and men were made disciples to John by his baptism. But the Christian baptism alone is administered in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. This is the form of the Christian baptism, and which does distinguish it from all other baptisms whatever. (3.) The end of the Christian baptism is as highly distant and different from the ends of other baptisms, as their authors differ. The end of the Jewish baptism was to give the baptized a title to the privileges of the law of Moses; and the end of John's baptism was to point to him who was to come, and to prepare men by repentance for the reception of the gospel. But the end of Christ's baptism was to instate us into all the unconceivable glories, and high eternal prerogatives which belong to the members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones, Eph. v. 30; that we might receive the adoption of sons, Gal. iv. 5. Henceforth no more servants, but sons of God, and heirs of heaven! These are ends so far transcendent above the ends of all former baptisms, that, in comparison,

other baptisms are not only less, but none at all; like the glory of the stars in presence of the sun; they not only are a lesser light, but when he appears they become altogether invisible.

And as a pledge or foretaste of these future and boundless joys, the gift of the Holy Ghost is given upon earth, and is promised as an effect of the baptism of Christ: as Peter preached, Acts ii. 38; Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. And Gal. iii. 27; As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.

This of the gift of the Holy Ghost was not added to any baptism before Christ's, and does remarkably distinguish it from all others.

SECT. VI.

That Christ and the apostles did not baptize with John's baptism.

THIS is a pretence of the Quakers, when they find themselves distressed with the clear proofs of Christ and the apostles having administered water-baptism; they say that this was John's baptism, because it was water-baptism: and, as before observed, sect. IV. they only say this, but can bring no proof: but they put us here again upon the negative, to prove it was not.

As to their pretence that it was John's baptism, because it was water-baptism, that is answered in the last section.

And now to gratify them in this (though unreasonable) demand, I will give these following reasons

why the baptism which Christ and his apostles did practise was not John's baptism.

1. If Christ did baptize with John's baptism, then he made disciples to John, and not to himself: for it is before shewn, sect. III. n. 2, 3, that baptism was an initiating form, and nothing else, whereby men were admitted to be disciples to him unto whom they were baptized. Thus the Jews who were baptized unto Moses said, We are Moses's disciples, John ix. 28: and those whom John baptized were called the disciples of John. And there needs no more to shew that Christ did not baptize with the baptism of John, than to shew that the disciples of Christ and of John were not the same, which is made evident from John i. 35, 37, where it is told that two of John's disciples left him and followed Jesus. And Matth. xi. 2, John sent two of his disciples to Jesus. And the disciples of Christ lived under a different economy, and other rules than either the disciples of John or of the Pharisees, to shew that they were under another Master. And the disciples of John were scandalized at it. Matth. ix. 14; Then came to him (Jesus) the disciples of John, saying, Why do we and the Pharisees fast oft, but thy disciples fast not?

Therefore the disciples of Christ and of John were not the same; and therefore Christ did baptize men to be his own disciples, and not to be the disciples of John; and therefore the baptism of Christ was not the baptism of John.

2. If Christ did baptize with John's baptism, the more he baptized, it was the more to the honour and reputation of the baptism of John: but Christ's baptizing was urged by the disciples of John as a

lessening of John, John iii. 26: therefore the baptism with which Christ did baptize could not be the baptism of John. Though it be said, John iv. 2, that Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples, (for so the apostles and other ministers of Christ have baptized more into the faith of Christ, than Christ himself has done;) yet here is no ground of jealousy or rivalship to Christ, because the administration of Christ's baptism is all to the honour and glory of Christ; and therefore Christ's baptizing more disciples than John could be no lessening of John, but rather a magnifying of him so much the more, if Christ had baptized with John's baptism

- 3. When John's disciples had told him of Christ's outrivalling him, by baptizing more than he; John answered, *He must increase*, but I must decrease, John iii. 30. But if Christ did baptize with the baptism of John, then John still increased, and Christ decreased. For,
- 4. He is greater who institutes a baptism, than those who only administer a baptism of another's appointment: therefore if Christ did baptize with the baptism of John, it argues John to be greater than Christ, and Christ to be but a minister of John.
- 5. All the Jews who had been baptized with the baptism of John did not turn Christians; therefore John's baptism was not the Christian baptism.
- 6. Those of John's disciples who turned Christians were baptized over again in the name of Christ, of which there is a remarkable instance, Acts xix.

 1—7. But the same baptism was never repeated; (as is shewn above, sect. III. n. 3;) therefore the

baptism which the apostles did administer was not John's baptism.

7. The form of the baptism which Christ commanded, Matth. xxviii. 19, was, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; but that was not the form of John's baptism; therefore that was not John's baptism. See what is before said, sect. v. n. 2, of the difference of baptisms, as to the author, the form, and the end of each baptism: and in all these respects it is made apparent that the baptism which was practised by Christ and the apostles was not the baptism of John.

To all these clear arguments, the Quakers, without answering to any of them, do still insist, that the water-baptism which the apostles did administer was no other than John's baptism; that they had no command for it, only did it in compliance with the Jews, as Paul circumcised Timothy, (Acts xvi. 3,) and purified himself in the temple, (Acts xxi. 21—27.) But this is all gratis dictum; here is not one word of proof: and they might as well say that the apostles' preaching was only in compliance with the Jews, and that it was the same with John's preaching; for their commission to teach and to baptize were both given in the same breath, Matth. xxviii. 19, Go ye—teach all nations, baptizing them, &c.

Now why the teaching here should be Christ's, and baptizing only John's, the Quakers are desired to give some other reason besides their own arbitrary interpretations, before which no text in the Bible or any other writing can stand.

Besides, I would inform them that the Greek word μαθητεύσατε in this text, which we translate teach, signifies to make disciples; so that the literal and

more proper reading of that text is, Go and disciple all nations, or make disciples of them, baptizing them, &c.

If it be asked, why we should translate the word μαθητεύσατε, Matth. xxviii. 19, by the word teach, if it mean to disciple a man, or make him a disciple?

I answer, that *teaching* was the method whereby to persuade a man, to convert him, so as to make a disciple of him: but the form of admitting him into the church, and actually to make him a disciple, to give him the privileges and benefits of a disciple, was by baptism.

Now the apostles being sent to teach men in order to make them disciples; therefore, instead of *Go disciple men*, we translate it, *Go teach*, as being a more familiar word, and better understood in English.

Though if both the Greek words μαθητεύσατε and βαπτίζωτες in this text were translated literally, it would obviate these Quaker objections more plainly; for then the words would run thus, Go and admit all nations to be my disciples, by washing them with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, διδάσκοντες, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.

Here the word διδάσκοντες, i. e. teaching, is plainly distinguished from μαθητεύσατε, to disciple them; though our English renders them both by the word teaching, and makes a tautology; Go teach all nations—teaching them.

But as a child is admitted into a school before it be taught; so children may be admitted into the pale of the church, and be made disciples by baptism before they are taught: which shews the meaning of these two words, i. e. discipling and teaching, to be different; because though in persons adult, teaching must go before discipling, yet in children (who are within the covenant, as of the law, to be admitted at eight days old by circumcision, so under the gospel by baptism) discipling goes before teaching, and that discipling is only by baptism.

But to return. The Quakers are so hard put to it when they are pressed with that text, Acts x. 47, Can any forbid water? &c. that they are forced to make a suppose (without any ground or appearance of truth) that these words were an answer to a question; and that the qustion was, Whether they might not be baptized with John's baptism? and that this proceeded from a fondness the Jews had to John's baptism; and that the apostle Peter only complied with them out of condescension, as Paul circumcised Timothy.

- Answ. 1. Cornelius, and those whom Peter baptized, Acts x, were Gentiles, and not Jews: they were Romans, and therefore cannot be supposed to have had any longing after John's baptism, none of them having ever owned it, or having been baptized with it.
- 2. The Gentile converts to Christianity refused to submit to the Jewish circumcision, or any of their law, (Acts xv.) and therefore it is not to be imagined that they would be fond of any of the baptisms which were used among the Jews.
- 3. Even all the Jews themselves, no not the chief and principal of them, neither the Pharisees nor lawyers, did submit to John's baptism, Luke vii. 30.
 - 4. The Ethiopian eunuch requested baptism from LESLIE, VOL. VII. D

Philip, (Acts viii.) and it cannot be supposed that the Ethiopians had more knowledge of John's baptism, or regard for it, than the Romans, or great part of the Jews themselves.

5. There is no ground to suppose that St. Peter's words, *Can any man forbid water?* &c. were an answer to any question that was asked him; the most forcible affirmation being often expressed by way of question.

Can any man forbid water? that is, no man can forbid it. And for the saying, Then answered Peter; there is nothing more familiar in the New Testament than that expression when no question at all was asked. See Matth. xi. 25; xii. 38; xvii. 4; xxii. 1: Mark xi. 14; xii. 35; xiv. 48: Luke vii. 40; xiv. 3, 4, 5; xxii. 51: John v. 17, 19.

- 6. Granting a question was asked, and that Cornelius as well as the Ethiopian had desired baptism, why must this be construed of John's baptism; especially considering that Peter, in that same sermon which converted Cornelius, (Acts x. 37,) told them that the gospel which he preached unto them was that which was published after the baptism which John preached? What argument was this for Cornelius to return back again to John's baptism? or, if he had desired it, why should we think that Peter would have complied with him, and not rather have reproved him, and carried him beyond it, to the baptism of Christ; as Paul did (Acts xix.) to those who had before received the baptism of John?
- 7. But as to the compliance which the Quakers would have to John's baptism, and which they compare to Paul's compliance in circumcising Timothy, I will shew the great disparity.

- (1.) The law was more universally received than John's baptism; for many and the chief of the Jews did not receive John's baptism, as above observed.
- (2.) The law was of much longer standing: John's baptism was like a flash of lightning, like the day-star, which ushered in the Sun of Right-eousness, and then disappeared; but the law continued during the long night of types and shadows many hundreds of years.
- (3.) John did no miracle, (John x. 41,) but the law was delivered and propagated by many ages of miracles: it was enjoined under penalty of death to them and their posterities; whereas John's baptism lasted not one age, was intended only for the men then present, to point out to them the Messiah, then already come, and ready to appear: and no outward penalties were annexed to John's law, people were only invited, not compelled, to come unto his baptism; but to neglect circumcision was death, Gen. xvii. 14. Exod. iv. 24.

The preaching of John was only a warning; let those take notice to it that would.

Whereas the law was pronounced by the mouth of God himself, in thunder and lightning, and out of the midst of the fire, upon mount Sinai, in the audience of all the people; and so terrible was the sight, that Moses said, I exceedingly fear and quake, Heb. xii. 21: for from God's right hand went a fire of law for them, Deut. xxxiii. 2.

From all these reasons, we must suppose the Jews to be much more tenacious of the law than of John's baptism, and to be brought off with greater difficulty from their circumcision, which had descended down to them all the way from Abraham, four hundred and thirty years before the law, (Gal. iii. 17,) than from John's baptism, which was but of yesterday, and never received by the chief of the Jews. And therefore there was much more reason for Paul's complying with the Jews in the case of circumcision, than in that of John's baptism, as the Quakers suppose.

When Christ came to fulfil the law, he did it with all regard to the law, (Matth. v. 17, 18, 19,) he destroyed it not with violence all at once, but fulfilled it leisurely, and by degrees: ut cum honore mater synagoga sepeliretur; the synagogue was the mother of the church; and therefore it was fitting that she should be buried with all decency and honour.

This was the reason of all those compliances with the Jews at the beginning, to wear them off by degrees from their superstition to the law.

Though in this some might comply too far; and there want not those who think that Paul's circumcising of Timothy (Acts xvi. 3.) was as faulty a compliance as that which he blamed in Peter, (Gal. ii.) For that of Paul's is not commended in the place where it is mentioned.

And now I appeal to the reason of mankind, whether objections thus picked up from such obscure and uncertain passages ought to overbalance plain and positive commands, which are both backed and explained by the practice of the apostles, and the universal church after them? All which I have before demonstrated of baptism.

8. But however the Quakers may argue from Paul's compliance with the Jews, the reader has reason to complain of my compliance with them; for, after all that has been said, there is not one

single word in any text of the New Testament that does so much as hint at any such thing, as that Peter's baptizing of Cornelius, or Philip's baptizing of the eunuch, was in any sort of compliance unto John's baptism. This is a perfect figment out of the Quaker's own brain, without any ground or foundation in the world: and therefore there was no need of answering it at all, otherwise than to bid the Quakers prove their assertion, that these baptisms were in compliance with John's, which they could never have done.

Whereas it is plain from the words of the text, (Acts xvi. 3,) that Paul's circumcising Timothy was in compliance with the Jews; it is expressly so said, and the reason of it given, because though his mother was a Jewess, yet his father was a Greek; and therefore, because of the Jews which were in those quarters (says the text) he circumcised Timothy, that these Jews might hear and receive him, which otherwise they would not have done. Now let the Quakers shew the like authority, that the baptisms of Cornelius, of the eunuch, and of the Corinthians, Acts xviii. 8; (for that too they acknowledge to have been water-baptism, as I will shew presently;) let the Quakers shew the like authority as I have given for the circumcision of Timothy being in compliance with the Jews; let them shew the like, I say, that the foresaid baptisms were in compliance with John's, and then they will have something to say: but till then, this excuse or put off of theirs is nothing else but a hopeless shift of a desperate cause, to suppose, against all sense, that these Gentiles (Romans, Ethiopians, and Corinthians) desired John's baptism, who rejected all the laws and customs of the Jews.

SECT. VII.

The Quakers' master-objection from 1 Cor. i. 14, I thank God that I baptized none of you, but Crispus and Gaius; and ver. 17, For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel.

FROM this passage they argue that water-baptism was not commanded by Christ, because here St. Paul says, that he was not sent to baptize; and that he thanks God that he baptized so few of them. But,

In answer to this, I will first of all premise, that a bare objection, without some proof on the other side, does neither justify their cause nor overthrow ours; for when a thing is proved affirmatively, it cannot be overthrown by negative difficulties which may be objected.

You must dissolve the proofs which are brought to support it; nothing else will do.

For what truth is there so evident in the world, against which no objection can be raised?

Even the being of a God has been disputed against by these sort of arguments, that is, by raising objections, and starting difficulties, which may not easily be answered: but while those demonstrative arguments, which prove a God, remain unshaken, a thousand difficulties are no disproof.

And so, while the command of Christ, and the practice of his apostles, and of all the Christian world, in pursuance of that command, are clearly proved, no difficulty from an obscure text can shake such a foundation.

But I lay down this only as a general rule, because this method is so much made use of by the Quakers, (and others.) who never think of answer-

ing plain proofs; but by raising a great dust of objections would bury and hide what they cannot disprove.

I say, that I only mind them at present of this fallacious artifice; for I have no use for it as to these texts objected, to which a very plain and easy answer can be given. And,

1. I would observe how the Quakers can understand the word baptize to mean water-baptism, or no water-baptism, just as the texts seem to favour their cause, or otherwise.

For there is no mention of water in either of the texts objected, only the single word baptize. And why then must they construe these two texts only, of all the rest in the New Testament, to mean water-baptism? Why? but only to strain an objection out of them against water-baptism.

But will they let the word *baptize* signify waterbaptism in other places as well as in these?

They cannot refuse it with any show or colour of reason: they must not refuse it in Acts xviii. 8, where the baptizing of Crispus (mentioned in the first of the texts objected) is recorded; and there it is not only said of Crispus, that he was baptized, but that many of the Corinthians hearing, believed, and were baptized. By which the Quakers cannot deny water-baptism to be meant, since they construe it so 1 Cor. i. 14.

2. We may further observe, that in the text, Acts xviii. 8, Crispus is only said to have believed, which was thought sufficient to infer that he was baptized; which could not be, unless all that believed were baptized; which no doubt was the case, as it is written, Acts xiii. 48, As many as were or-

dained to eternal life believed; and, (chap. ii. 41,)
They that received the word were baptized; and,
(ver. 47,) The Lord added to the church daily such
as should be saved.

So that this is the climax or scale of religion: as many as are ordained to eternal life do believe; and they that believe are baptized; and they that are baptized are added to the church.

And to shew this received notion, that whoever did believe was baptized, when Paul met some disciples who had not heard of the Holy Ghost, Acts xix. 3, he did not ask them, whether they had been baptized or not? he took that for granted, since they believed; but he asks, *Unto what were ye baptized?* supposing that they had been baptized.

3. Here then this objection of the Quakers has turned into an invincible argument against them.

They have by this yielded the whole cause; for if the baptism 1 Cor. i. 14. be water-baptism, then that baptism Acts xviii. 8. must be the same; and consequently all the other baptisms mentioned in the Acts are, as these, water-baptisms also.

But, besides the Quakers' confession, (for they are unconstant, and may change their minds,) the thing shews itself, that the baptism mentioned 1 Cor. i. 14. was water-baptism, because Paul there thanks God that he baptized none of them, but Crispus and Gaius. Would the apostle thank God that he had baptized so few with the Holy Ghost? or would he repent of baptizing with the Holy Ghost? Therefore it must be the water-baptism which was here spoke of.

4. But now, what is the reason that he was glad he had baptized so few with water-baptism? And he gives the reason in the very next words, (ver. 15,) Lest any should say that I had baptized in mine own name. What was the occasion of this fear? It is told, from ver. 10, that there were great divisions and contentions among these Corinthians, and that these were grounded upon the emulations that arose among them in behalf of their several teachers: one was for Paul, another for Apollos, others for Cephas, and others for Christ.

This would seem as if the Christian religion had been contradictory to itself:

As if Christ, and Cephas, and Paul, and Apollos had set up against one another:

As if they had not all taught the same doctrine:

As if each had preached up himself, and not Christ:

And had baptized disciples each in his own name, and not in Christ's; and had begot followers to himself, and not to Christ.

To remove this so horrible a scandal, St. Paul argues with great zeal, (ver. 13,) Is Christ divided? says he, was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul? I thank God that I baptized none of you, but Crispus and Gaius; lest any should say that I had baptized in mine own name.

There needs no application of this, the words of the apostle are themselves so plain.

He did not thank God that they had not been baptized, but that he had not done it.

And this, not for any slight to water-baptism, but to obviate the objection of his baptizing in his own name.

5. By the way, this is a strong argument for

water-baptism; because the inward baptism of the Spirit cometh not with observation and show, but is within us, Luke xvii. 20, 21: nor is it done in any body's name, it is an inward operation upon the heart.

But the outward baptism is always done in some name or other, in his name whose disciple you are thereby made and admitted.

Therefore it must of necessity be the outward baptism of which St. Paul here speaks, because it was outwardly administered in such an outward name. And he makes this an argument that he had not made disciples to himself, but to Christ; because he did not baptize them in his own name, but in Christ's.

Now this had been no argument, but perfect banter, if there had been no outward baptism that the people could have both seen and heard. How otherwise could they tell in what name, or no name, they were baptized, if all this was inward and invisible?

But I need not prove what the Quakers grant and contend for, that all this was meant of waterbaptism, because otherwise their whole objection from this place does fall.

6. But they would infer as if no great stress were laid upon it, because that few were so baptized.

I answer, that there is nothing in the text which does infer that few of these Corinthians were baptized.

St. Paul only thanks God that he himself had not done it, except to a few, for the reasons before given: but, Acts xviii. 8, it is said, that besides Crispus, whom Paul himself baptized, many of the Corinthians were baptized.

Nay, they were all baptized, as many as believed, as before is proved: and in this very place St. Paul taking it for granted that all who believed were baptized, which I have already observed from his question to certain disciples, Acts xix. 3; not whether they were baptized, but unto what, i. e. in what name, they had been baptized? So here, I Cor. i. 13, he does not make the question, whether they had been baptized? that he takes for granted; but in what name were ye baptized? which supposes, not only that all were baptized, but likewise that all who were baptized were baptized in some outward name, and therefore that it was the outward, i. e. water-baptism.

7. But the second text objected, ver. 17, is yet to be accounted for, where St. Paul says, *Christ sent me not to baptize*, but to preach the gospel. This he said in justification of himself for having baptized so few in that place, for which he blesses God, because, as it happened, it proved a great justification of his not baptizing in his own name.

But then, on the other hand, here would seem to be a neglect in him of his duty; for if it was his duty to have baptized them all, and he baptized but a few, here was a great neglect.

In answer to this, we find that there was no neglect in not baptizing them, for that not a few, but many, of the Corinthians were baptized, Acts xviii. 8; that is, as many as believed, as before is shewn.

But then who was it that baptized those many? for St. Paul baptized but a few.

I answer, the apostle employed others under him to baptize.

And he vindicates this, by saying that he was not sent to baptize, i. e. principally and chiefly; that was not the chief part of his commission; but the greater and more difficult part was that of preaching, to dispute with, persuade, and convert the heathen world. To this, great parts, and courage, and miraculous gifts were necessary; but to administer the outward form of baptism to those who were converted, had no difficulty in it, required no great parts or endowments, only a lawful commission to execute it.

And it would have taken up too much of the anostles' time; it was impossible for them to have baptized with their own hands those vast multitudes whom they converted. Christianity had reached to all quarters of the then known world, as far almost as at this day, before the apostles left the world: and could twelve men baptize the whole world? Their progress was not the least of their miracles: the bread of life multiplied faster in their distribution of it, than the loaves by our Saviour's breaking of them. St. Peter converted about three thousand at one sermon, Acts ii. 41: and at another time about five thousand, chap. iv. 4; multitudes both of men and women, chap. v. 14; many more than the apostles could have counted, much more than they could have baptized; for which if they had stayed they had made slender progress. No; the apostles were sent as loud heralds to proclaim to all the earth, to run swiftly, and gather much people, and not to stay (they could not stay) for the baptizing with their own hands all that they converted; they left that to others, whom they had ordained to administer it: vet not so as to exclude themselves;

but they themselves did baptize, where they saw occasion, as St. Paul here did baptize Crispus and Gaius, and the house of Stephanus, some of the principal of the Corinthians. Not that he was obliged to have done it himself, having others to whom he might have left it; for he was not sent, that is, put under the necessity to baptize with his own hands, but to preach to convert others; that was his principal province, and which he was not to neglect upon the account of baptizing, which others could do as well as he.

But if you will so understand the words of his not being sent, i. e. that it was not within his commission, that he was not empowered by Christ to baptize, then it would have been a sin and great presumption in him to have baptized any body.

Nay more; this text thus understood is flatly contradictory to Matth. xxviii. 19, which says, Go baptize; and this says, I am not sent to baptize.

These are contradictory, if by *I* am not sent be understood, I have not power or commission to baptize.

But by *I am not sent*, no more is meant in this text, than that baptizing is not the chief or principal part of my commission. As if a general were accused for mustering and listing men in his own name, and not in the king's, and he should say, in vindication of himself, that he had never listed any, except such and such officers; for that he was not sent to muster, or drill men, or to exercise troops or regiments, but to command the army; would it follow from hence that he had not power to exercise a troop or a regiment, or that it was not within his commission? Or if a doctor of physic should say,

that it was not his part to compound medicines, and make up drugs, (that was the apothecary's business,) but to give prescriptions; would any man infer from this that he might not compound his own medicines if he pleased?

Or if (to come nearer) a professor of divinity, or a bishop, should say, that he was not sent to teach school, this would not imply that he might not keep school; nay, he ought (if there were no others) to do it: so the apostle of the Gentiles was not sent to spend his time in baptizing, visiting the sick, or other parts of his duty, (which others might perform,) so as to hinder his great work in converting of the Gentiles; all of whom he could not baptize, nor visit all their sick; yet both these were within his commission, and he might and did execute them where he saw occasion. As if all the sick in London should expect to be visited by the bishop of London, and all the children should be brought to be baptized by him, he might well say, that he was not sent to baptize, or to visit the sick, but to look after his episcopal function; and send them for these offices to others under him: and yet this would no ways imply that these offices were not within the episcopal commission, or that he was not sent both to baptize and to visit the sick; but only that he was not sent principally and chiefly to baptize, or to visit the sick.

And as to that phrase of being sent, we find it used in this same sense, to mean only being chiefly and principally sent. Thus Gen. xlv. 8, Joseph said to his brethren, It was not you that sent me hither, but God. It was certainly his brethren who sent him, for they sold him into Egypt; but it was not

they principally and chiefly, but God, who had other and extraordinary ends in it.

Adam was not deceived, (says the apostle, 1 Tim. ii. 14,) but the woman being deceived was in the transgression. Adam was deceived, and fell as well as the woman; but the meaning is, he was not first or principally deceived.

Again: as for you who stick so close to the letter, (when it seemeth to serve your turn,) go ye and learn what that meaneth, *I will have mercy, and not sacrifice*, Matth. ix. 13.

By which it cannot be understood that God did not require sacrifice, for he commanded it upon pain of death; yet he says, (Jer. vii. 22,) I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them—concerning burnt-offerings, or sacrifices: but this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice, &c.; according as it is written, (1 Sam. xv. 22,) To obey is better than sacrifice.

By all which cannot be meant, that God did not command the Jews concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices, (for we know how particularly they were commanded,) but that the outward sacrifice was not the chief and principal part of the command, which respected chiefly the inward sacrifice and circumcision of the heart.

Which when they neglected, and leaned wholly to the outward, then God detests their oblations; Isa. i. 14, Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth, I am weary to bear them. And he says, ver. 12, Who hath required this at your hand?

It was certainly God who had required all these things at their hands; but these outward performances, (though the neglect or abuse of them was punished with death,) yet they were not the chief and principal part of the command, being intended chiefly for the sake of the inward and spiritual part; from which when they were separated, they were (like the body when the soul is gone) a dead and loathsome carcass of religion; and which God is therefore said not to have commanded, because he did not command them without the other; as he made not the body without the soul, yet he made the body as well as the soul.

8. And as there is soul and body in man, so (while man is in the body) there must be a soul and body of religion, that is, an outward and an inward worship with our bodies as well as our souls.

And as the separation of soul and body in man is called *death*, so is the separation of the outward and the inward part of religion the death and destruction of religion.

The outward is the cask, and the inward is the wine: the cask is no part of the wine; but if you break the cask, you lose the wine: and as certainly, whoever destroy the outward institutions of religion, lose the inward parts of it too.

As is sadly experienced in the Quakers, who, having thrown off the outward baptism, and the other sacrament of Christ's death, have thereby lost the inward thing signified, which is the personal Christ as existing without all other men, and having so suffered, rose, ascended, and now and for ever sitteth in heaven, in his true proper human nature, without all other men. This the Quakers will not own, (except some of the new separation:) and this they have lost by their neglect of those outward sacraments which Christ appointed for this very end,

(among others,) that is, as remembrances of his death; for it had been morally impossible for men, who had constantly and with due reverence attended these holy sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, ever to have forgot his death, so lively represented before their eyes, and into which they were baptized; or to have turned all into a mere allegory performed within every man's breast, as these Quakers have done.

But the enemy has persuaded them to break the cask, and destroy the body of religion, whereby the wine is spilled, and the soul of religion is fled from them; and by neglecting the outward part, they have lost the whole inward and truth of religion. which is a true faith in the outward Christ, and in the satisfaction made for our sins by his blood outwardly shed, and in his intercession, in our nature, as our High Priest at his Father's right hand now in heaven, into which holy of holies he has carried his own blood of expiation once offered upon the cross, and presents it for ever as the atonement and full satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, but applied only by true faith and repentance, thereby becomes fully effectual to the salvation of every faithful penitent.

This is the only true Christian faith; and from this the Quakers have totally fallen, and that chiefly by their mad throwing off the outward guards, preservatives, fences, sacraments, and pledges of religion; and those outward means of grace which Christ has commanded, and given us as the only outward grounds for our hope of glory. For how can that man get to heaven who will not go the way that Christ has appointed, who came down from

heaven on purpose to shew and lead us the way thither; yet we will be wiser than he, find fault with his institutions, as being too much upon the outward, and think that we can and may spiritualize them finer, and make the way shorter than he has done?

9. But to return: if the Quakers could find such texts concerning baptism as I have shewn above concerning sacrifices, as if it were said, that God did not command baptism, that he hated it, and was weary to bear it, that he would not have it, &c.; if such texts could be found, how would the Quakers triumph? Who would be able to stand before them? And yet if such were found, they would prove no more against the outward baptism, than they did against the outward sacrifices; i. e. that if any regarded nothing else in baptism than the outward washing, it would be as hateful to God as the Jewish sacrifices, when they regarded nothing more in them but the outward.

And it may be truly said, that God did not command either such sacrifices or such a baptism, because he commanded not the outward alone, but with respect unto, and chiefly for the sake of, the inward.

And therefore, as all these and other the like expressions in the Old Testament did not at all tend to the abolition, only to the rectification, of the legal sacrifices; so much less can that single expression, 1 Cor. i. 17, of Paul's saying (upon the occasion, and in the sense above mentioned) that he was not sent to baptize, but to preach; much less can this infer the abolition of baptism, being as positively commanded as sacrifices were under the law, and as cer-

tainly practised by the apostles as the sacrifices were by the Levitical priests.

- 10. Now suppose that I should deny that outward sacrifices were ever commanded, or that the Jews did ever practise them; and should interpret all that is said of sacrifices only of the inward, as the Quakers do of baptism; and I should produce the texts above quoted, to prove that God did not command sacrifices, which are much more positive than that single one which is strained against baptism; I say, suppose that I should be so extravagant as to set up such a notion, what method (except that of Bedlam, which in that case would be most proper) could be taken to convince me? And suppose I should gain as many proselytes as G. Fox has done, and we should boast our numbers and light within, &c. would not this following method be taken with us?
- (1.) To see how sacrifices are actually used now in those parts of the world where they do sacrifice; and being convinced that these do use outward sacrifices, and understand the first command to sacrifice in that sense, to inquire,
- (2.) Whether they did not receive this from their fathers, so upward to the first institution? And is not this the surest rule to find out the meaning of the first command, viz. how it was understood and practised by those to whom the command was first given, and from them through all ages since? Upon all which topics, the present water-baptism now used may be as much demonstrated to be the same which was practised by the apostles, and consequently which was commanded by Christ, as the outward

sacrifices can be shewn to have been at first commanded to the Jews, and practised by them.

11. And as for that precarious plea, before confuted, of the baptism which the apostles practised being only a compliance with the Jews, there is more pretence to say, that the Jewish sacrifices were in compliance with the heathen sacrifices, which were long before the Levitical law.

I say, there is more pretence for this, but not more truth: more pretence, because it has been advanced of late by men of greater figure than Quakers, that the Levitical sacrifices were commanded by God in compliance with the Gentile sacrifices, which were before used.

But this is a subject by itself: I now only shew the Quakers, that there is more ground to spiritualize away sacrifices from the letter, than baptism; more pretence for it from texts of scripture, and from some odd opinions of some learned men.

And if the denial of outward sacrifices would be counted (as the like of baptism was when first started) to be nothing short of madness, the continuance of that distraction for forty-six years together (as in the case of baptism) might make it more familiar to us, but would abate nothing of the unreasonableness.

12. I believe the reader by this time cannot but think that I have taken too much needless pains in answer to that objection of St. Paul's saying that he was not sent to baptize, but to preach; but I speak to a sort of men who are used to repetitions, and will not take a hint, (unless it be on their own side,) and therefore I enlarge more than I would do if I

were writing to any others. But I think I have said enough, even to them, to shew that the meaning of the apostle in this text was only to prefer the office of preaching before that of baptizing: but I must withal desire them to take notice, that the preaching, that is, publishing of the gospel at first to heathens was a very different thing, and of much greater necessity, than those set discourses, which we now call *preaching* in Christian auditories.

13. Let me (to conclude) add one argument more from this text, 1 Cor. i. 17, why that baptism mentioned Matth. xxviii. 19. cannot be meant of the baptism with the Holy Ghost; because if when Christ sent his apostles to baptize, the meaning was (as the Quakers would have it) to baptize with the Holy Ghost, then the apostle Paul said in this text, 1 Cor. i. 17, that he was not sent to baptize with the Holy Ghost: which sense, since the Quakers will not own, they cannot reconcile these texts without confessing that that text, Matth. xxviii. 19, was not meant of the baptism with the Holy Ghost, and then it must be meant of the water-baptism.

SECT. VIII.

Objection from 1 Pet. iii. 21.

THE words of the text are these; The like figure whereunto (i. e. the ark) even baptism doth also now save us, (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God,) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

From whence the Quakers argue thus; that baptism does not consist in the outward washing, but the inward. And so far they argue right, that the inward is the chief and principal part; and therefore, that if any regard only the outward washing of the skin in baptism, they are indeed frustrated of the whole benefit of it, which is altogether spiritual.

And it has been observed, sect. VII, latter part of numb. 7, that if only the outward part of the sacrifices or circumcision, and other institutions under the law, were regarded, they were hateful to God, and he rejected them, though at the same time he commanded the performance of them under the penalty of death.

Thus it is in the institutions of the gospel: the inward and spiritual part is the chief, and for the sake of which only the outward is commanded; but this makes the outward necessary instead of throwing it off, because (as it was under the law) the outward was ordained as a means whereby we are made partakers of the inward: and therefore if we neglect and despise the outward when we may have it, we have no promise in the gospel to entitle us to the inward; as he that neglects the means has no reason to expect the end. It is true, a miracle may do it, but it is presumption, and tempting of God, to neglect the outward means of God's appointment, in expectation of his miraculous interposition against the method which he has commanded: as if the provoking of God did entitle us the more to his protection! or as if we were wiser than he, to mend and alter his institutions, and dispense with them at our pleasure!

Here let it be minded, that the ark is put only as a type of baptism; therefore baptism is the more worthy, and more necessary: and to neglect baptism is to venture swimming in the deluge without

But R. Barclay argues in his Apology, that the baptism of which the ark was a type could not be the outward or water-baptism, because that itself is a type, viz. of the inward or spiritual baptism: and he supports this notion by a criticism upon the word ἀντίτυπον in this text, which he says is not rightly translated in our English by the like figure; because he says the word ἀντίτυπος signifies the thing typified, and not the type.

But, by his leave, it signifies the quite contrary, Heb. ix. 24, not the thing typified, but only the type; for there the holy places made with hands are called the ἀντίτυπα, the figures or types of the true: and that word is not to be found, except in these two texts, in the whole New Testament. And therefore, if one of these texts must explain the other, the word artitumos, or antitype, 1 Pet. iii. 21, must be taken in the same sense in which it is used Heb. ix. 24, because there it cannot possibly be taken to mean the thing typified, or the archetype; therefore neither ought it to be so strained, as Barclay does, to mean the quite contrary in the present text: and our translation is justified, which renders artiτυπος, the like figure, as does the vulgar, similis formæ: for both the waters of the ark and of baptism are the outward and visible signs, but not the thing signified, which is the salvation of the soul by the regeneration and washing of the Spirit. And they are like figures, both signifying the same thing in a manner, very like to one another: that as Noah, &c. were saved in the ark by water from corporal death, so are the true believers saved by the water of baptism from the death of sin and hell; in which sense the ark was a type of the outward or water-baptism, though both were types, but one nearer than the other. And because the baptism mentioned in this text, 1 Pet. iii. 21, is an ἀντίτυπος, a type or figure, therefore it must be the outward and water-baptism which is here meant; for the inward and spiritual baptism is not the type or figure, but the thing signified. And thus Robert Barclay's argument and criticism has turned into a full demonstration of the direct contrary of that for which he brought it; and has thoroughly established the divine institution of the outward or water-baptism.

SECT. IX.

The Quaker objection from Eph. iv. 5.

- 1. THE words of the text are these; One Lord, one faith, one baptism; whence the Quakers argue thus: That water-baptism is one baptism, and the baptism with the Holy Ghost is another baptism, because the one is the outward, and the other the inward baptism, and outward and inward are two things; therefore that these must be two baptisms; which, they say, is contrary to this text, that says, the Christians have but one baptism, as they have but one Lord and one faith.
- 2. I answer: outward and inward are two things; but yet they hinder not the unity of that which is composed of both. Thus soul and body are two things, and of natures the most different of any two things in the world, yet they hinder not the unity of the man who is composed of both; nay, it is the composition of these two that makes up the one man, insomuch that when these two are divided,

the man is no more; for it is nothing else which we call *death* but the separation of soul and body.

And (as before shewn, sect. VII. n. 8.) while there is soul and body in man, there must be a soul and body of religion, that is, an outward and an inward part of religion: and if we destroy the outward, we shall lose the inward, because the outward was designed for the safety and preservation of the inward.

It is true, that the inward is the chief and principal part, as of man, so of his religion; but this does not infer that the outward is not likewise necessary. We are commanded, Rom. xii. 1, to present our bodies a living sacrifice, and this is called our reasonable service: for is it not reasonable that, since our bodies are God's creatures as well as our souls, he should have the adoration and service of our bodies, as well as of our souls?

There is no outward or public worship but by our bodies; we cannot otherwise express the inward devotion and adoration of our minds.

And this is so natural, that whoever has a due reverence and awe of the divine Majesty cannot help to express it outwardly by the adoration of his body in his approaches to God, even though in private: as our blessed Saviour in his agony fell prostrate upon his face to the earth.

And whoever deny the outward worship to God, or perform it slovenly and carelessly, it is a full demonstration that they have no true and real devotion, or just apprehension of the Almighty.

Therefore the outward part of religion must by no means be let go, because the inward certainly dies when the outward is gone. But the outward and inward worship of God are not two worships, but only two parts of the same worship. As soul and body are not two men, but two parts of the same man; so the adoration of this one man outwardly in his body, and inwardly in his soul, is not two worships, but two parts of the same worship.

3. There is but one faith, yet this faith consists of several parts: there is a faith in God, of which the heathens do partake; there is a faith in Christ, which denominates men Christians; yet these are not two faiths in a Christian, but two parts of the same faith. There is likewise a faith in the promises of the gospel, and that what is therein commanded is from God; and there are degrees of this faith, of which one Christian does partake more than another: and yet to Christians there is but one faith.

The belief of a God, and of Christ, are two faiths or beliefs, because many do believe a God who do not believe in Christ: yet in a Christian they are not two faiths, but one faith; because the one, that is, the faith in Christ, does suppose the other, that is, the belief of a God; it only adds to it, and builds upon it: and this makes them no more two faiths than building an house a story higher makes it two houses.

4. There is but one Lord, that is, Christ; yet he consists of an outward and inward part of body and soul; nay more, of both the divine and human natures. I might urge the different persons in the one divine nature, but this will be no argument to the Quakers, who deny it. But they deny not (seemingly at least) the divinity of Christ; and

therefore, as this Lord is but one, though consisting of several natures, and his faith and worship but one, though consisting of several parts, why may not his baptism likewise be one, though consisting of an outward and an inward part?

- 5. There was an outward and an inward circumcision, as well as an outward and inward baptism; yet no man will say that there were two circumcisions under the law. As little reason is there to say that there are two baptisms under the gospel. See what is before said, sect. VII. n. 10, 11, of the stronger presumptions to deny the outward sacrifices under the law, than the outward baptism under the gospel.
- 6. Let me add, that circumcision was discontinued forty years in the wilderness, (Josh. v. 5,) yet this was made no argument against the reviving and continuance of it afterwards.

But baptism has not been discontinued one year, nor at all, in the Christian church since its first institution by Christ.

If the Quakers could find such a discontinuance of baptism, as there was of circumcision, they would make great advantage of it; though it could be no more an argument in the one case than in the other.

But since they have not even this small pretence against it, the constant and uninterrupted practice of baptism in all Christian churches through all ages, is an irrefragable argument against them, and shews them to be dissonant from the whole church of Christ.

SECT. X.

An objection from Heb. vi. 1.

1. I could not have imagined that this should have been made an objection, if I had not seen it urged as such in a book printed in the year 1696. entitled, John Baptist's Decreasing, &c. by John Gratton; where he urges mightily this text as a plain prohibition to the further continuance of baptism. He lays great stress upon the word leaving: Therefore leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection. "LEAVING," saith he, p. 45, " mark, LEAVING the principles," &c. And baptism being named in the second verse, he infers, that the apostle here commands to leave off the practice of baptism, which he says had been indulged to the first converts to Christianity, with other Jewish ceremonies. As to the supposed indulging of baptism on account of its being a Jewish ceremony, it is answered before, sect. VI. But now as to this inference from Heb. vi. 1. John Gratton says, p. 47, that "this word leaving seems to entail "the foregoing words in the chapter before, where " he (the apostle) had been telling them of their " childishness, (he mentions the doctrine of baptism, "which cannot prove the imposing of water-bap-"tism any more than all the rest,) and was now for " bringing them on to a further state, where they " might know perfection----And it seems clear to " me, that there was some need for those things, "they had so long lain like children weak and " babes in, to be left. Therefore leaving these, let " us go on to perfection; and saith further, This " will we do, if God permit: but if they had been "commanded by Christ to have been used to the "world's end, then why should Paul have been so "earnest at that day, which was soon after Christ's "ascension, to have had them then to leave them?" These are his words, and a great deal more to the same purpose. And in the same page he ranks baptism with circumcision, passover, and other Jewish rites.

2. But it is very wonderful how any man could shut his eyes so hard as to oversee, not only the whole scope, but the very words of this text. Can such blindness be other than wilful? The apostle was reproving some of the Hebrews for their slender proficiency in the knowledge of the gospel; and that he could not lead them to the higher mysteries, they hardly yet being well fixed in the very rudiments and fundamentals of Christianity: as if one should say, that he would make an ill doctor of divinity who had not yet learned his catechism.

For the apostle in the former chapter having treated of the mysterious parallel betwixt Christ and Melchisedec, he stops short, ver. 11, upon the account of their incapacity, of whom (that is, of Christ and Melchisedec) we have many things to say, and hard to be uttered, seeing ye are dull of hearing. For when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles of God. Then he goes on to provoke them to a further proficiency in the words of the text we are now considering: Therefore, says he, leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God, of the doc-

trine of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment. And this will we do, if God permit.

Here is the doctrine of baptism placed in the very heart of the fundamentals of Christianity; yet the Quakers would filch it out from amongst all the rest, and refer it alone to the ceremonials of the law, spoken of in the former chapter. This was dropped at a venture; for the former chapter treats only of the Melchisedecal priesthood, which was no part of the law; and there are none of the legal types or ceremonies so much as mentioned in it; yet baptism in the next chapter must refer to them!

There cannot be a greater confession to baptism than this objection of the Quakers, nor a stronger proof for the necessity of it, than to see it ranked with these most acknowledged foundations of the Christian religion, and called one of the *first principles of the oracles of God*.

3. And as to the word *leaving*, upon which this author lays so great a stress in this text, as if it meant *forsaking* and *abandoning*, it is strange that he should bring in the apostle exhorting to leave off, and forsake the principles of the doctrine of Christ! But *leaving* there is very plainly meant of *leaving* or *intermitting*, (as the Vulgar renders it,) to treat further at that time of these principles, which the apostle is so far from forsaking, that he fixes them as the foundation, which he says he will not lay again, as supposing it laid already; but build further upon it, improve and carry up the superstructure. So that this *leaving* is only leaving or ceasing to discourse further upon these principles, *intermittentes sermonem*, *intermitting* or *breaking*

aff the debate; which is literally, according to the Greek, ἀφέντες λόγον, leaving that word or subject of which he then spoke, he went on to discourse of other things.

The reader could not forgive this trifling in me, to prove things which are self-evident, if he did not see that I am forced to it.

However, this advantage is gained by it, to see the very slender foundations upon which the Quakers build their objections against baptism; which they must either grant to be one of the principles of Christianity, or that faith and repentance are not.

4. But indeed (it is frightful to say it, I pray God they may seriously consider of it) they have, together with baptism, thrown off all the other principles of the doctrine of Christ, which are mentioned in this text. 1. Repentance: against this they have set up a sinless a perfection, which needeth no repentance: they never beg pardon for sin, supposing they have none, and mock at us for saying, "Lord have mercy "upon us;" and upbraid our litany for having a confession of sin in it. Edward Burroughs, p. 32 of his Works, printed 1672, says, "That God doth not " accept of any where there is any failing, or who " doth not fulfil the law, and doth not answer every "demand of justice." 2. Faith towards God: this is the Christian faith, or faith in God through Christ. But the Quakers say b, that they can come to God immediately, without the mediation of Christ, and therefore they do not pray to Christ, whom they utterly deny to be that person who suffered for them

a See the Snake in the Grass, p. 27, and sect. IV. p. 42, vol. iv.

b See Snake, sect. x1. p. 153.

upon the cross, as Mr. Penn, in his Serious Apology, p. 146.

They make Christ to be nothing else than what they call the light within, which they say is sufficient of itself without any thing else to bring us to God; and that whoever follows it needs no other help.

Now they say that all the heathens, every man that is born into the world, has this light within, that is, Christ; and that this light within is sufficient for his salvation without any thing else: whereby they take away any necessity of an outward Christ to die for our sins, and make the heathen faith as good as the Christian: and therefore they have taken away that Christian faith towards God, which is the second of the principles mentioned in this text; the third is baptism, which they openly disclaim; the fourth is the laying on of hands, that is, the ordination, confirmation, and absolution of the church, which are all performed by laving on of hands. And how much soever the Quakers and others do despise them, yet the apostle here reckons them among the fundamentals; for the government and discipline of the church are essential to it as it is a society, it could not otherwise be a society. The sin of Korah, Numb. xvi, xvii, was nothing but concerning church government; and Aaron's rod that budded, in confirmation of his priesthood, was ordained to be kept for ever in the ark for a token against the rebels; so are they called who rebelled against that priesthood which God had then appointed by Moses; and the sin cannot be less, to rebel against that priesthood which Christ himself appointed: which is shewn more at large in the discourse mentioned in the advertisement.

Now if Aaron's rod, that is, church government, was one of the three sacred depositums which were ordained to be kept in the ark, why should we wonder to see it here placed among the fundamentals of Christianity?

The pot of manna, Aaron's rod, and the tables of the covenant, Heb. ix. 4, were all that was kept in the ark.

Which shews church government to be necessary next to our manna, the very support of our life, and the best guard to preserve the Decalogue, i. e. our duty to God and man.

And though the Quakers cry down church authority in others, yet they magnify it as much in themselves as any church whatsoever.

The ingenious W. P., in his Judas and the Jews, writing against some dissenters amongst the Quakers, asserts the authority of the church very high, and "the power of the elders in the church," p. 13, and presses that text, Matt. xviii. 17, Tell it unto the church, to extend to matters of faith and worship, as well as to private injuries or offences amongst Christians. "That Christ," says he, "as "well gave his church power to reject as to try "spirits, is not hard to prove; that notable pas"sage, Go tell it to the church, does it to our hand:
"for if in case of private offences betwixt brethren
"the church is made absolute judge, from whom
"there is no appeal in this world; how much more

"in any the least case that concerns the nature, being, faith, and worship of the church her"self!"

But the case was quite altered when he came to answer that same text, as urged against the Quakers by the church, which he does in his Address to Protestants, p. 152-154, of the second edition in octavo. printed 1692. And then that text does not relate at all to faith or worship, but only to private injuries: for having denied the authority of the church in matters of faith, he puts the objection thus against himself; "But what then can be the meaning of "Christ's words, Go tell the church? Very well. "I answer," says he, p. 153, "'tis not about faith, " but injury, that Christ speaks; and the place ex-" plains itself, which is this; Moreover, if thy bro-" ther shall trespass against thee, go and tell him " his fault, between thee and him alone. Here is "wrong, not religion; injustice, not faith or con-" science concerned, as some would have it, to main-" tain their church power. The words trespass " and fault prove abundantly, that he only meant " private and personal injuries; and that not only " from the common and undeniable signification and " use of the words trespass and fault, but from the " way Christ directs and commands for accommo-"dation, viz. that the person wronged speak to him "that commits the injury alone; if that will not " do, that he take one or two with him: but no man " can think, that if it related to faith or worship, I " ought to receive the judgment of one, or two, or "three, for a sufficient rule—Therefore it cannot " relate to matters of faith, and scruples of con-" science, but personal and private injuries."

Thus he. But though the judgment of one, two, or three, is not of itself a sufficient rule, (none ever said it was,) yet may not one, two, or three admonish one another, even in matters of faith and worship, as well as of private injuries; and, in case

of refractoriness and obstinacy, bring the cause before the church? Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him, Lev. xix. 17: yet was not the judgment of every man a sufficient rule to his neighbour. And our Saviour's commanding to bring the cause finally before the church shews plainly, that the judgment of the one, two, or three was not meant for a sufficient rule, that is, the ultimate decision.

But in answer to Mr. Penn's argument, that this text, *Tell it unto the church*, was meant only of private injuries, I shall repeat but his own words before quoted, and grant, that as it was meant of private injuries, so, as Mr. Penn very well infers, "how "much more in any the least case that concerns the "nature, being, faith, and worship of the church "herself!"

But to return: the fifth article in that enumeration of fundamentals, Heb. vi. 1, 2, is, the resurrection of the dead; which the Quakers do likewise deny; as it is fully proved in the Defence, vol. v. part II. p. 296.

The last is that of eternal judgment, which depends upon the former, may be made one with it, and is likewise denied by the Quakers, that is, turned into Hymenæus and Philetus's sense, of an inward only and spiritual resurrection or judgment performed within us. I have frequently heard Quakers say, that they expected no other resurrection or future judgment than what they had attained already, that is, the resurrection of Christ, or the light, and the judgment or condemnation of sin in their hearts.

George Whitehead, in his book called The Nature

of Christianity, &c. printed 1671, p. 29, thus ridicules it; "Dost thou," says he to his opponent, "look for Christ, as the son of Mary, to appear out- wardly, in a bodily existence, to save thee? If "thou dost, thou may'st look until thy eyes drop "out, before thou wilt see such an appearance of "him."

And now what wonder is it that these should throw off baptism, who have likewise thrown off all the other fundamentals which are reckoned with it in this text.

7. But let us hence observe, and beware of neglecting or despising the outward institutions of God, because these depending upon the authority of God, no less than the inward and spiritual, rejecting of the one overthrows the obligation and sanction of the whole, and is a rejecting of God the institutor; who, in his just judgment, suffers those to lose the one that think themselves too good for the other.

Men were made partakers of Christ to come by the sacrifices which were appointed as types of him under the law; so now are we partakers of him who is to come by the sacraments which he has appointed in remembrance of him under the gospel.

And as those who neglected or despised the sacrifices when they might be had from the legal priests, according to God's institution, were made liable to death, and did forfeit their title to the participation of Christ the archetype; so those who neglect or despise the sacraments which he has commanded as the means of grace, and of our inward participation of him under the gospel, do thereby justly forfeit their title to such participation.

For if we will not take God's way, we have no promise nor reason to secure us in the following of our own inventions.

SECT. XI.

The Quaker objection, that there are no signs under the Gospel.

- 1. THE Quakers throw off all outward institutions, as not only useless, but hurtful to the Christian religion; which they pretend consists not only chiefly, (which is granted to them,) but solely in the inward and spiritual part. They say, that all figures and signs are shadows, and that when Christ, who is the substance, is come, the others cease of course; that they have attained to Christ the substance, and therefore these shadows are of no use to them; that baptism and the Lord's supper are some of these shadows; and these were indulged to the early and weak Christians; but that the Quakers, who have stronger participations of the Spirit, are got beyond these beggarly elements, &c.
- 2. This is settled as a foundation principle, that "cno figures or signs are perpetual, or of institution under the gospel administration, when Christ, who is the substance, is come; though their use might have been indulged to young converts in primitive "times."

Answ. (1.) To say they were not perpetual is one thing; but to say that they were not so much as of institution under the gospel seems a strange assertion, when Christ gave the institution out of his

^c A Key, &c. by W. P. printed 1694. c. 10. of Water-Baptism and the Supper, p. 24.

own mouth, Matth. xxviii. 19; Go baptize; and of his supper, said, This do, Luke xxii. 19.

(2.) The reason why this should not be perpetual is very precarious; to suppose that the holiness of any person should exempt him from observing the institutions of God: whereas Christ himself submitted to them, and said, Matth, iii, 15, that it became him to fulfil all righteousness, i. e. all the righteous institutions of God. This is the reason which Christ gave for his baptism; yet the Quakers think that their holiness will excuse them from baptism. Christ submitted to John's baptism, saying, that we ought to fulfil all God's institutions: yet the Quakers will not submit to Christ's baptism, saving, that they are got beyond it. All were required to submit to John's baptism during his ministry, because he was sent from God to baptize; therefore Christ also submitted unto it, and did receive his own commission to baptize by the visible descent of the Holy Ghost, upon his receiving the baptism of John. All are vet more expressly commanded to receive the baptism of Christ: Go. baptize all nations, Matth. xxviii. 19; Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, Mark xvi. 15. But the Quakers and Muggletonians excuse themselves, as being too good for it; "they "truly feeling in themselves (as it is expressed in "the Key before quoted, p. 26.) the very thing " which outward water, bread and wine do signify, "they leave them off." But were they as holy as they pretend, yet would not this excuse them from observing the institutions of Christ: nay, the greatest sign of holiness and true humility is, not to think ourselves above his institutions, but obediently to observe them, after the blessed example of Christ our Lord. And it is the greatest instance of spiritual pride, and the most fatal deception in the world, thus to overvalue ourselves; it betrays the grossest ignorance of spiritual things: for the more a man knows of himself and of God, the more he discovers of his own weakness and unworthiness; he appears less in his own sight, and frames himself the more obsequiously, with the most profound humility and resignation, dutifully and zealously to observe every the least command of God. They are novices in the knowledge of God who are lifted up with pride; and these fall into the condemnation of the Devil, 1 Tim. iii. 6.

And what can be greater pride, than to think ourselves in an higher condition of perfection than the holy apostles, and all those glorious saints and martyrs, who were the first-fruits of the gospel, called (in the Key above quoted) by the lessening style of "young converts in primitive times?"

St. Paul, though immediately converted and enlightened miraculously from heaven, was commanded to go to Ananias to be baptized. But our Quakers pass him off as a young convert; they have got beyond him, and think themselves more highly enlightened than he was; and, for that reason only, not to need that baptism which was thought necessary for him.

And all the other Christians, from Christ to George Fox, were young converts! then it was that a greater light was given than ever was known in the church of Christ before, to make the outward baptism cease, as of no longer use to those who had attained the substance! or otherwise none of the primitive Christians knew their own holiness, or were so humble as not to own it to that degree as to place themselves above all outward ordinances.

These are the grounds and reasons of the Quakers why baptism and the Lord's supper were not perpetual.

Which, in the mildest word that I could frame, I have called *precarious*. And they must appear to be such, till the Quakers can give some other proof besides their own saying so, either that the holiness of any person can excuse him from the observance of Christ's institution; or that they have a greater degree of holiness than all others since Christ, who have been baptized.

- (3.) But the perpetuity of baptism and the Lord's supper are fully expressed in the words of the scripture. When Christ gave commission to his disciples to baptize, he promised to be with them, in the execution of that commission, even unto the end of the world, Matth. xxviii. 20; which shews, that the commission was to descend after the death of the apostles to whom it was given: and it tells how long, alway, even unto the end of the world. The like perpetuity is annexed to the institution of the Lord's supper, 1 Cor. xi. 26, till Christ come again. It was instituted in remembrance of him, and therefore to be continued till his coming again.
- 3. I know the Quakers do interpret this, not of Christ's outward and personal coming at the resurrection, which (after Hymenæus and Philetus, 2 Tim. ii. 18.) they say is past already, that is, inwardly performed by the spiritual resurrection of Christ, or the light in their hearts. And they say, that the

institution of the Lord's Supper was only to continue till that inward coming, or forming of Christ in our hearts; which they having obtained, (as they presume,) therefore they throw off the outward supper.

But was not Christ formed in the hearts of the apostles, to whom Christ gave his holy supper, as much as in the hearts of the Quakers now? Was he not come spiritually to Paul after his conversion? And before his command, above quoted, of continuing the practice of the Lord's supper till his coming:

If they say that this was only to have it continued to those weaker Christians who had not Christ thoroughly formed in their hearts:

First, Who can say that Christ is thoroughly formed in his heart? May there not be greater and greater degrees of the inspiration of Christ in our hearts? and can we ever come to the end of it, so as to need no further inspiration, or coming of Christ within us? Therefore Christ's inward coming is always to be expected: his further and further coming and inspiration.

But if that coming, which the Quakers would make to be the determination of the outward institution of the Lord's supper, be the least degree of his coming, then every Christian, nay, according to the Quakers, every man in the world, not only is, but always was, exempted from the observation of that institution; because the Quakers do own, that every man in the world has, and ever had, the light within, which they make to be Christ, at least an influence and inspiration from Christ; and so to be a coming or presence of his in the heart. And therefore, by this rule, Christ is come to every man

in some degree or other: and if there be not some stinting, or ascertaining of this degree, then Christ was always so come to all, as to make the institution of the Lord's supper useless at all times to all. Nay, it was ended before it began. For if his inward coming does end it, it could never begin, because he was always so inwardly come.

But if there are some degrees of his coming so weak as to need the help of the outward institution, to which God has annexed the promise of his grace, when duly administered and received, then these degrees must be known; else those may be deprived of the benefit of it who have most need of it: and those are they who think that they need it least.

Secondly, The Quakers do not always pretend. all of them, to the same degrees of perfection; (if there be degrees in perfection;) they must be sensible sometimes (at least others are) of the many weaknesses of some of their number: why then do they not allow the Lord's supper to those weaker ones? else they must say, that it was not intended for the weak more than for the strong: and so that the institution and practice of it by Christ and his apostles was wholly useless, and to no purpose. And that all those high things said of it, that it is the communion of the body and blood of Christ, 1 Cor. x. 16; and Christ's own words, This is mu body: and therefore, that the receiving it unworthily is being guilty of the body and blood of the Lord: that therefore we should approach to it with the greatest reverence and preparation, to examine ourselves seriously and diligently, that we may receive it with pure hearts and minds; and the dreadful judgments which do attend the neglect or abuse

of it; not only sundry diseases, and divers kinds of deaths, but damnation, 1 Cor. xi. from ver. 27: I say, all these were words thrown into the air, of no meaning nor import at all, if the Quaker interpretation be true; which makes nothing at all of the Lord's supper, but renders it wholly precarious and insignificant, even at the time of its institution; and now to be hurtful and pernicious, as drawing men from the substance to mere shadows; for they make of it no more.

4. But I would be eech them to consider how much more highly God does value it, and how material a part of his religion he does make it: for when St. Paul was taught the faith immediately from heaven, and not from those who were apostles before him, (as he tells us, Gal. i. 16, 17,) Christ took care to instruct him as to this of the Lord's supper particularly. And he presses it upon the Corinthians as having received it from God: For I have received of the Lord (says he, 1 Cor. xi. 23.) that which also I delivered unto you, That the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread, &c.; and so goes on to relate the whole institution of the Lord's supper, and the mighty consequences, the benefits and advantages of it, the examination preparatory to it, and the vengeance, both temporal and eternal, which was due to the contempt of it.

This shews that Christ did not institute this holy sacrament by chance. It was the last act of his life, and his dying bequest to his church, filled with all his blessings, and carrying with it, to the worthy receivers, the whole merits and purchase of his death and passion, the remission of our sins, and full title

to heaven! Brethren, I speak after the manner of men; though it be but a man's testament, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth, or addeth thereto. How much less then can any man take upon him to disannul this last will and testament of Christ's, which he has left to his church, and bequeathed it to her with his dying breath!

This was the reason that it was not only so particularly recorded by the several evangelists in the gospels; but when St. Paul was taught immediately from heaven, this most material institution was not forgot, but Christ himself instructed him in it, to shew the great stress and value which he laid upon it.

And let this suffice to have said in this place concerning this other sacrament of the Lord's supper. Its institution is as plain and express as that of baptism; and the practice of it in the days of the apostles, and all ages since, has been as universal. And what has been said of baptism is of equal force as to this: and the Quaker arguments against this are upon the same foundation as those against baptism; only they have not so many objections against this: therefore I have made baptism the chief subject of this Discourse; yet so, as likewise to include the sacrament of the Lord's supper. Therefore we will go on to consider what remains of the present objection, (which militates equally against both,) that there are no signs under the gospel.

5. And here let me observe,

First, That these signs and figures which the Quakers make incompatible to the gospel state, ought only to be understood of the signs and figures in the law, which were ordained as types of Christ. And of these it is truly argued, that when Christ,

who is the substance, is come, they must cease of course; which argument the Quakers bring against the signs and figures which Christ did institute under the gospel. But how foreign this is from their purpose, let any one judge; for those signs and figures which were appointed by Christ could not be types of Christ, because a type is what goes before a thing, and shews it to come: and therefore, when that which it foreshews is come, it ceases. But as there were types under the law to foreshew Christ's coming in the flesh, and his sacrifice upon the cross, which therefore are ceased; so Christ has appointed other types to foreshew his second coming, to judge the world, and which therefore must last till he shall so come, as the types of his first coming did last till he did so come. The sacrifices under the law did prefigure the death of Christ; but the sacraments under the gospel were instituted in remembrance of it, as well as for types of our future union with him in heaven. Therefore the same reason which makes the legal types to cease, does infer, that the evangelical types must not cease till they likewise shall be fulfilled, which will not be till we arrive at heaven. Thus as they are types. And then,

Secondly, As they are remembrances of what is past, they are to last as long as the remembrance of that which they represent ought to last with us. Christ did not institute his supper, that we should thereby remember his death a day, or a year, but till his coming again. His death took his personal presence from us; and therefore till that return we must continue the remembrance, that is, of his absence, till the glorious return of his visible body, which was separated from us by his death.

Thus no advantage can be brought to the Quaker pretences against the Christian sacraments, from the sacrifices and other signs or figures under the law.

6. We come now to examine what they set up against any signs or figures under the gospel from another topic; and that is, that the gospel is all substance, and therefore that there must be no sign or figure at all in it.

Answ. By substance here they mean that which is inward, or spiritual, that every thing in the gospel is spiritual.

But this will overthrow all outward, or bodily worship; for that is distinguished from spiritual, or inward worship.

And, in one sense, all bodily worship is a sign or figure of the inward or spiritual, which is the principal and substantial worship. Thus bowing the knee, or uncovering the head at prayer, are signs or figures of the inward reverence and devotion of the heart.

And this the Quakers practise; therefore, by their own argument, they have signs and figures as well as others; only they throw off those of Christ's institution, and make new ones of their own.

It is impossible to be without signs and figures: for this whole world is a figure of that which is to come. We ourselves are figures of God, being images of him: and what is an image but the figure or sign of a thing? Christ is a figure of God, being the express image of his person, Heb. i. 3. And we now have the knowledge of God in the face of Jesus Christ. God is a light inaccessible to angels as well as unto men, without some medium; his essence cannot be seen or known immediately by any but

himself. All creatures partake of him in signs and figures of him, each in their several degrees; there are higher and more noble figures, but all are figures. And God has in all ages through the world dispensed himself to mankind in signs and figures; we could not otherwise apprehend him. Christ is the most noble and lively figure of God; therefore his dispensation is far beyond all others that went before him. Yet even now we see through a glass darkly, 1 Cor. xiii. 12, or in a riddle, as our margent reads it, έν αἰνίγματι, in a figure.

What is the Bible that we read, what are words but the signatures, the signs or figures, of things? We can see the essence of no one thing in the world more than of God. And what are all those accidents of colour, quantity, and quality, by which we distinguish things, but so many figures or signs of them?

So very wild is that notion, that there must be no signs or figures under the gospel.

It would be much truer, if they had said that there are nothing else but signs and figures: there is nothing else without a figure but God! for all creatures are figures of him, Christ the highest.

But have the Quakers no figures? G. Fox, in his Saul's Errand, p. 14, says, that Christ's flesh is a figure. They call the body of Christ generally a figure, a veil, a garment. Then either they have none of it, or they have figures. Richard Hubberthorn wrote^c, that Christ's "coming in the flesh was " but a figure;" he meant of the inward coming of Christ, or the light in the heart, which they call the

^c Snake in the Grass, sect. x. vol. iv.

substance and the mystery, of which Christ's outward coming in the flesh, they say, was but a shadow, or the history, (to use their own words.) G. Fox made a great mystery, or figure, of his marriage, which, he said, "was above the state of the first " Adam in his innocency; in the state of the second " Adam that never fell." He wrote, in one of his general epistles to the churches, (which were read and valued by the Quakers more than St. Paul's.) that his marriage was a figure of the "church com-"ing out of the wilderness." This, if denied, I can vouch undeniably; but it will not be denied, though it be not printed with the rest of his epistles; but I have it from some that read it often. But why was it not printed? that was a sad story. But take it thus: he married one Margaret Fell, a widow, of about threescore years of age; and this figure of the church must not be barren: therefore, though she was past childbearing, it was expected that, as Sarah, she should miraculously conceive, and bring forth an Isaac, which G. Fox promised and boasted of: and some that I know have heard him do it more than once. She was called, "the Lamb's wife;" and it was said amongst the Quakers, that the Lamb had now taken his wife, and she would bring forth an holy seed. And big she grew, and all things were provided for the lying-in; and he, being persuaded of it, gave notice to the churches, as above observed. But, after long waiting, all proved abortive, and the figure was spoiled. And now you may guess the reason why that epistle which mentioned this figure was not printed.

I would have brought nothing into this Discourse that looks like a jest; but they have compelled me:

and it may be of use to them, to shew them, that while they throw off the sacraments of Christ's institution, upon the pretence that there must be no signs or figures under the gospel, they, at the same time, make ridiculous signs and figures of G. Fox, and his fantastical marriage, and of several other things; every thing almost among them is a sign or figure of something to come upon the world. How many of their lying prophets have called themselves signs to the men of their generation, as the holy prophets were in their day!

7. There have been outward signs in all the institutions of religion since the beginning of the world, as well before as under the law, and now under the gospel. Only they have been varied or ended according to what they prefigured. Thus those signs, which had no further tendency than to point out what Christ did or suffered upon earth, are fulfilled, and therefore ended.

But there were some signs, which, though they pointed to Christ upon earth, had yet a further tendency; for signs may be appointed to more ends than one. Thus the institution of the sabbath was appointed for the commemoration of God's rest from the works of the creation, Gen. ii. 3, and Exod. xx. 11, and likewise the rest of the children of Israel (who were the type of the church) from their captivity and slavery in Egypt, Deut. v. 15, (which expresses the servitude of sin and hell,) and their final rest in Canaan (the type of heaven) after their forty years wandering in the wilderness, (which represent the labours of this life.) But this was not the ultimate rest or sabbath, Heb. iv. 8; For if Joshua had given them rest, then would he not af-

terwards have spoken of another day. There remaineth therefore σαββατισμός, the keeping of a sabbath (which signifies rest) to the people of God. For he that has entered into his rest, he also hath ceased from his own works, as God did from his. Thus Christ, as he suffered the sixth day of the week, the same day that man was created and fell: so on the same day on which God rested from his work of creation, viz. the seventh day, did Christ rest in his grave from his work of redemption. And there is yet a further rest or sabbath beyond this, and that is, the eternal rest in heaven, Heb. iv. 11. Let us labour therefore to enter into that rest.

Now, though several significations of the sabbath are already past, as the deliverance out of Egypt, the entrance into Canaan, and the rest of Christ in his grave; yet there being one behind, that is, the sabbath of heaven, therefore do we still keep the sabbath as a type of it.

But there is another reason for the continuance of the sabbath, and that is, that it was not only ordained as a type of things to come, but as a commemoration of what was past, viz. of God's rest from his works of creation; and by the alteration of the day of the sabbath, it serves likewise to us Christians as a commemoration of the resurrection of Christ, and his conquest over the powers of death and hell. It was the first day in which light was created, and Christ (who is our true light, of which the visible light is but a shadow, and was ordained as a type) arose from the dead the same day, and gave light to those who sat in darkness and the shadow of death, by the joyful tidings of our redemption from hell, and eternal bliss in heaven!

Now so long as the works of our creation and redemption are to be kept in memory, so long is the sabbath to continue as a commemoration of these inestimable benefits.

And, by the same reason, so long as we ought to commemorate the death and passion of our Lord, so long ought the sacrament of it to continue, which he instituted in remembrance of it, and commanded it to be continued till his coming again.

Thus you see that there are signs under the gospel; not only the two sacraments of the church, (which flowed distinctly out of Christ's side after his death upon the cross,) but that the gospel does still retain the signs of commemoration, which have descended down to us all the way from the creation; and likewise such signs or types as have yet a prospect forward, and are not wholly fulfilled.

And, thirdly, the signs of present signification, as the outward acts of worship; to which we are as much, nay more strictly obliged under the gospel, than they were under the law; as St. Irenæus argues, (Advers. Hæres. lib. IV. c. 34,) that the manner of worship, as of sacrifices, is changed, but not the worship abolished: Non genus oblationis reprobatum est, oblationes enim et illic, oblationes autem et hic; sacrificia in populo, sacrificia et in ecclesia; sed species immutata est tantum; i. e. "the "kind or nature of the offering is not abolished; " for there were offerings under the law, and there " are offerings also under the gospel: there were "sacrifices among the people of the Jews; there " are sacrifices likewise in the church; but the spe-" cies or manner of them only is changed," viz. that some sacrifices under the law were bloody, as pre-

figuring the death of Christ; and therefore that sort or manner of sacrificing is ceased, because fulfilled in the death of Christ: but their unbloody sacrifices and oblations, as of tithes and other offerings, remain still among Christians, and are signs as much as they were under the law: the outward worship of God must be by actions proper and significant; Nihil enim otiosum, nec sine signo, nec sine argumento apud eum; i.e. "for there is nothing " empty, nor without a sign, nor without significa-"tion, in the worship of God." And in the very next words he applies this to tithes; Et propter hoc illi quidem decimas-" And for this reason the "Jews paid tithes," viz. as a sign of their dependance upon God, and having received all from him, and in hopes of their receiving more from him. Sed nos omnia-But the Christians, instead of a tenth part, which the Jews gave, give all that they have, because, says he, they have a better hope. And ch. 27, shewing how Christ did heighten the laws; as, instead of adultery, to forbid lust; instead of murder, to forbid anger; and instead of giving the tithe, commanding to sell all; and this, says he, is not a dissolving of the law, but enlarging it, Matth. v. 17, 18. So that no part of the law is destroyed, and all is not fulfilled; and since all must be fulfilled, it follows, that what is not yet fulfilled must yet remain; and many of the signs in the law not being fulfilled in Christ's death, nor ever to be fulfilled while we live upon this earth, consequently do remain, and must so remain, to the end of the world. So that the gospel has signs as well as the law, and in great part the same signs; with other sacramental signs added by Christ, which are those

Iron this

of which we now treat, baptism, and the supper of the Lord.

8. And let us reflect, that ever since God made outward things, and gave us this body, as the soul does act by the mediation of the body; so has God ordained, that his gifts and graces shall be conveyed to us by outward signs and means.

Christ used outward signs and means for his miraculous cures, to shew, that though the virtue did not come from the means, yet that they were of use, and not to be despised.

But why do we say that the virtue does not come from the means? We say so when we cannot tell the reason and manner how the means work their effect, and can we tell it in those which we call natural means? No, surely; we know only by observation and experience; and what often comes to pass, we call it natural, as being the common course of things; not that we know the reason of it, more than of those occurrences which we call miraculous and extraordinary.

Man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

Bread has no virtue of its own to nourish, but only what it receives from God; and if he give his virtue (for it is his only) to a stone, or any thing else, it will nourish; and bread will and does cease to nourish when he withdraws his blessing from it.

Therefore the spittle of Christ and the clay, the waters of Siloam and Bethesda, and the brasen serpent, had as great virtue to cure when they were appointed by God, as bread has to nourish; and the virtue came as much from them, as it does from the bread in our daily food.

Now if the brasen serpent, which was but a type of Christ, had virtue to cure the body, shall we deny that the bread which Christ blessed for the remission of sin has virtue to work that effect?

He whose single fiat made the worlds, and whose influence gives power to all things, and makes them what they are; he said of that blessed bread, This is my body; and his holy apostle said of it, The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? And do we doubt how it works this effect? Dare we reject it, because it seems strange to us how it should work this effect, who know as little how our daily bread does nourish our bodies? Do we object our ignorance how a man can be born of water and the Spirit, who can give as short an account how we are formed, of a drop of water, in the womb; and by what ligaments such different natures as soul and body are compacted and linked together? How can we pretend to have faith in Christ, and vet not believe his words, because of the seeming difficulty, to our understandings, (who know nothing,) of the method and manner how he can bring them to pass?

According to our faith it will be unto us: therefore let us humble our souls greatly, and imitate the holy angels, (far more enlightened than we are,) who veil their faces before God, and presume not to dispute his commands, or pretend to understand all the methods of his power and wisdom unsearchable; but desire to look into those things, 1 Pet. i. 12, those glorious mysteries of the gospel which the Quakers despise, as below the measure to which they have attained! And the principalities and powers in heavenly places do submit to learn the

manifold wisdom of God, Ephes. iii. 10, from that church which the Quakers do vilify and trample under their feet, as thinking it uncapable to teach them any thing, or to administer to them the sacraments which Christ has commanded.

But because the dispute will arise which that church is, in the miserable divisions of Christendom, and amongst the various sorts of the pretenders to it, I have in the following Discourse, I hope, given a plain and sure rule to guide all honest and disinterested inquirers in that most necessary and fundamental point.

THE CONCLUSION.

Shewing the necessity of water-baptism.

THE sum of what has been said concludes in the great necessity there is of water-baptism.

But before I say more of it, I will obviate an objection which may arise from the word necessary.

If it be absolutely necessary, then none can be saved without it; which sort of necessity I do not plead for. This is plainly distinguished in the Catechism of our Church, where this and the other sacrament (of the Lord's supper) are said to be "generally "necessary to salvation." Generally, that is, in the general and common methods which are prescribed in the gospel: for nobody will pretend to limit God, as if he could not save by what means and methods he pleases: but we are tied up to those rules which he has prescribed to us; yet we must not tie him up to those rules to which he has tied us.

But who are they that have reason to expect God's extraordinary mercies out of the common methods of salvation, and to be made partakers of the inward without the outward baptism?

First, Those who being conscientiously concerned for the outward, yet cannot obtain it, through the want of a minister of Christ lawfully ordained to administer it, as in Turkey, Africa, &c.

These are under an invincible necessity; and their earnest desires (I doubt not) will be accepted by God, and the spiritual baptism be conferred upon them without the outward.

Secondly, Those who have been baptized by persons not lawfully ordained; and consequently they have received no baptism, having received it from those who had no commission to administer it, but who were guilty of the highest sacrilege, in usurping such a sacred commission, not lawfully derived to them by a successive ordination from the apostles: but yet, through a general corruption of the times, such baptisms are suffered to pass; whereby the persons so baptized, swimming down the stream, do think their baptism to be valid, and therefore seek not for a rebaptization from those who are truly empowered to administer it: I say, where no such rebaptization is taught, and thereby the people know nothing of it, in such case their ignorance is in a manner invincible, and their sincerity and devotion in receiving no sacraments, vet thinking them true sacraments, may be accepted by God, and the inward grace conferred, and the defects in the outward and visible signs may be pardoned.

But neither of these cases does reach those who neglect the outward means, upon pretence of inward perfection without them: these despise the ordinance of Christ, and make themselves wiser than he; as if he had appointed means either unnecessary, or ineffectual to the ends for which they were intended.

And I desire these to consider the great necessity there is for water-baptism, as before explained.

1. Because it is ordained as the means whereby the inward baptism of the Holy Ghost is given, as I have before quoted, Acts ii. 38, Be baptized, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. By this baptism could not be meant the baptism with the Holy Ghost, because this baptism is here proposed as the means whereby to receive the inward baptism of the Holy Ghost.

Again, Ephes. v. 26, That he (Christ) might sanctify and cleanse it (the church) with the washing of water by the word. Here the washing of water is the means, though the operation and virtue is from the word: and therefore the outward washing or baptizing (which means the same, as before told, sect. I.) cannot be the same with the word in this text.

2. Christ having appointed this as the means, you see what stress he lays upon it, and how necessary he makes it.

John iii. 5, Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. Here the water and the Spirit are plainly distinguished, and both made necessary to salvation, the outward as well as the inward; as it is written, Rom. x. 10, For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. The belief of the heart is necessary unto righteousness, i. e. to make us righteous before God; but the outward confession of the

mouth is likewise as necessary to our salvation; as Christ said, (Matt. x. 32.) Whosoever shall confess me before men, &c. We must outwardly, and before men, confess to Christ, by the due performance of his outward ordinances, without which our inward belief in him will not be sufficient to our salvation. Baptism is an outward badge of Christianity, by being the outward form appointed to admit men as members of the church of Christ, and whereby they own themselves to be such before men: but those who will not wear this badge, as a confession to Christ, before men, Christ will not confess them before his Father in heaven.

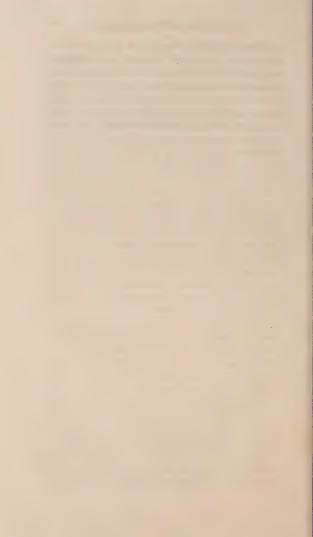
Mark xvi. 16, He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved. Here both the outward and the inward are joined together, and both made necessary: for by baptism here cannot be meant the inward belief; that would make a tautology of the text, and mean thus, He that believeth and believeth—Thus it must be, if by baptism in this text the inward baptism, or belief of the heart, be meant. But this being plainly meant of the outward baptism, the consequence from this text is plainly this; that he who doth not believe, and is not baptized, shall not be saved: of which I adjure the Quakers to consider most seriously; for though they had the inward baptism as much as they pretend, yet were the outward necessary. Peter thought water necessary to give outward baptism to those who had already received the inward baptism of the Holy Ghost, Acts x. 47.

And the doctrine of baptism is reckoned among the principles and foundations of Christianity, together with faith and repentance, &c. Heb. vi. 1, 2.

But the Quakers, like Naaman, flout at the means, as too easy to be effectual, and call baptism, in contempt, water-sprinkling: and I will answer them with Naaman's servants, (2 Kings v. 13,) If Christ had bid thee do some great thing, wouldest thou not have done it? how much rather then, when he saith to thee, Wash, and be clean? And as necessary as the waters of Jordan were to the cleansing of Naaman, so necessary are the waters of baptism to the cleansing of our souls. None dare say that God could not have cleansed Naaman otherwise; but God having, by his prophet, appointed that means, if Naaman had neglected it, he had not otherwise been cured: how much more, when God has appointed the means of baptism, by his Son, if we neglect it, shall we be saved without it? He that despised Moses's law died without mercy; of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the institution of the Son of God, and counted it an unholy thing, doing despite to it, inventing contemptible names for it, and ridiculing the administration of it? But as the Spirit of God moved at first upon the face of the waters, (Gen. i. 2,) to impregnate them, and make them fructify; and gave a miraculous virtue to the waters of Jordan, of Siloam, and Bethesda, for healing of the flesh; why should we doubt that the same Spirit can, and will, sanctify the waters of baptism to the mystical washing away of sin, having the positive institution and promise of Christ for it? Acts ii. 38, Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.

This was not the extraordinary gift of miracles which is here promised, (and which all baptized persons did not receive or expect,) but the remission of sins. And let me add, that the ordinary saving graces of the Spirit, which work silently, without observation or show, are much preferable, and more desirable, than the extraordinary gifts of miracles, which for a time were necessary at the first propagation of the gospel, and held men's eves in great admiration; but were of dangerous consequence to the possessors, and a temptation often to vanity. which had almost overset the great apostle, 2 Cor. xii. 7, 8, 9, and threw others into the pit of destruction, Matt. vii. 22, 23, 1 Cor. xiii. 2; and therefore were not to be prayed for or desired. We must be totally passive in this case; and when sent, being for the conviction of others, to receive such an extraordinary gift with fear and trembling, lest it hurt our weak minds, not capable, but by as extraordinary an assistance of divine grace, to bear such mighty revelations; and not to let in with it a secret pride in ourselves, which spreads our sails so wide, that, without a proportionable ballast of deep humility, we shall be driven from our compass. The enemy throws in this strong temptation with those miraculous gifts, which vain men do ignorantly covet, and some falsely pretend to, to their own destruction. But much more valuable are those saving graces, which we are commanded daily to pray for, and daily to endeavour after; much more available to us, and precious in the sight of God, than all miraculous gifts, is that gift of the Holy Ghost, the remission of sins, which is promised to the due reception of baptism, and enrolls our names

in heaven. Behold, (said Christ to his disciples, who boasted, Luke x. 17—20, that even the devils were subject to them through his name,) I give unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy: and nothing shall by any means hurt you. Notwithstanding in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rather rejoice, because your names are written in heaven.



DISCOURSE

SHEWING

Who they are that are now qualified to administer

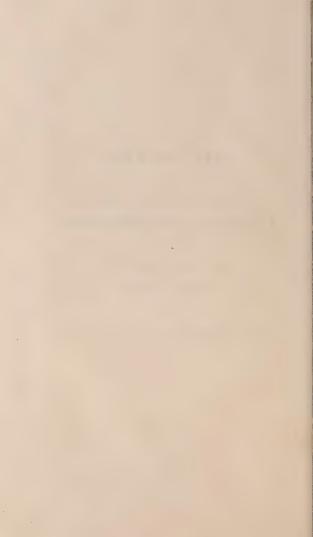
BAPTISM AND THE LORD'S SUPPER:

WHEREIN THE

CAUSE OF EPISCOPACY

IS BRIEFLY TREATED.

No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron, Heb. v. 4.



PREFACE.

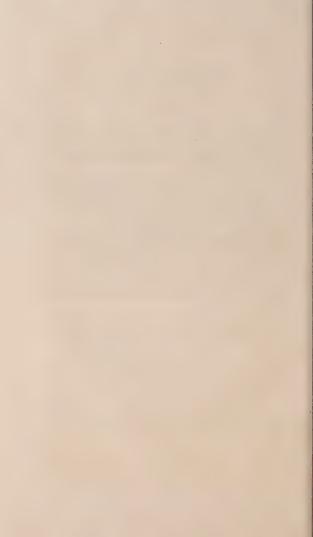
THIS Discourse was promised in that which I formerly published, proving the divine institution of water-baptism, and was intended to have been annexed to that, but some delays prevented it.

I can give no good reason why it has stayed thus long, having made but little addition to what was then done; but other things intervened, and, as it is usual in delays, the first in design proves the last in fact.

The subject of this has led me directly upon the larger theme of episcopacy, which having been so elaborately and so often treated of, I intend not in this to branch out into so wide a field; but in a short compendious method to lay before the Quakers, and others of our dissenters from episcopacy, the heart of the cause, so far particularly as it concerns our present subject, the right of administering the sacraments of Christ.

And to avoid the length of quotations, when brought into the Discourse and dilated upon, I have at the end annexed a small index of quotations out of the primitive fathers and councils of the first four hundred and fifty years after Christ, to which the reader may recur as there is occasion; and having them all in one view, may consider them more entirely, and remember them the better.

I have translated them for the sake of the English reader, but have put the originals at the bottom, to justify the translation, and for their sakes who may not have the books at hand.



DISCOURSE

SHEWING

Who they are that are now qualified to administer

BAPTISM AND THE LORD'S SUPPER.

SECT. L

The necessity of an outward commission to the ministers of the gospel.

SOME Quakers having perused my Discourse of Baptism, think the Quaker arguments against it sufficiently answered; and they have but one difficulty remaining, that is, who they are (among the various pretenders) that are duly qualified to administer it.

And if satisfaction can be given to them herein, they promise a perfect compliance to that holy institution.

The chief thing they seem to stand upon is, the personal holiness of the administrator, thinking that the spiritual effects of baptism cannot be conveyed by the means of an unsanctified instrument.

But yet they confess that there is something else necessary besides the personal holiness of the administrator; otherwise they would think themselves as much qualified to administer it as any others; because, I presume, they suppose themselves to have as great a measure of the Spirit as other men. This requisite which they want is that of lawful ordination.

But the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists do pretend to this; therefore their title to it is to be examined.

And, that we may proceed the more clearly in this matter, with respect still to that difficulty upon which the Quakers lay the stress, we will inquire concerning those qualifications which are requisite in any person that shall take upon him to administer the sacraments of Christ's institution: and

These qualifications are of two sorts, personal or sacerdotal.

- 1. Personal—the holiness of the administrator. And though this is a great qualification to fit and prepare a man for such an holy administration, yet this alone does not sufficiently qualify any man to take upon him such an administration.
- 2. But there is moreover required a sacerdotal qualification, that is, an outward commission, to authorize a man to execute any sacerdotal or ministerial act of religion: for, This honour no man taketh unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron, Heb. v. 4. So also Christ glorified not himself to be made an High Priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son—Thou art a Priest, &c.

Accordingly we find that Christ did not take upon him the office of a preacher, till after that outward commission given to him by a voice from heaven at his baptism; for it is written, Matt. iv. 17, From that time Jesus began to preach: then he began; and he was then about thirty years of age, Luke iii. 23. Now no man can doubt of Christ's

qualifications before that time, as to holiness, sufficiency, and all personal endowments. And if all these were not sufficient to Christ himself, without an outward commission, what other man can pretend to it, upon the account of any personal excellencies in himself, without an outward commission?

- 3. And as Christ was outwardly commissionated by his Father, so did not he leave it to his disciples, to every one's opinion of his own sufficiency, to thrust himself into the vineyard; but chose twelve apostles by name, and after them seventy others of an inferior order, whom he sent to preach.
- 4. And as Christ gave outward commissions while he was upon the earth, so we find that his apostles did proceed in the same method after his ascension, Acts xiv. 23, They ordained them elders in every church.
- 5. But had they who were thus ordained by the apostles power to ordain others? Yes; Tit. i. 5, 1 Tim. v. 22, For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest—ordain elders in every city.—Lay hands suddenly on no man, &c. St. Clement, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, writing concerning the schism which was then risen up amongst them, says, parag. 44, "a That the apostles, foreknow—"ing there would be contests concerning the episco—"pal name, (or office,) did themselves appoint the "persons." And not only so, lest that might be

^{*} Καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀόφιματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἢιὰ ταὐτην οἰν τῆν αἰτίαν πρόγνωσιν εἰληφότες τελείαν, καπέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους, καὶ μεταξὺ, ἐπινομὴν δεδώκασιν, ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται ἔτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες, τὴν λειτουργίαν αἰτῶν. — Οἱ ἐν Χριστῷ πιστειθέντες παρὰ Θιοῦ ἔργον τοιοῦτο, καπέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους.

said to be of force only during their time; but that they "afterwards established an order how, when "those whom they had ordained should die, others, "fit and approved men, should succeed them in "their ministry;" parag. 43, "that they who were "intrusted with this work by God in Christ did "constitute these officers."

But this matter depends not upon the testimony of him, or many more that might be produced: it is such a public matter of fact, that I might as well go about to quote particular authors to prove that there were emperors in Rome, as that the ministers of the church of Christ were ordained to succeed one another, and that they did so succeed.

SECT. II.

The deduction of this commission is continued in the succession of bishops, and not of presbyters.

BUT here is a dispute, whether this succession was preserved in the order of bishops or presbyters? or whether both are not the same?

- 1. This is the contest betwixt the Presbyterians and us; but either way it operates against the Quakers, who allow of no succession derived by outward ordination.
- 2. But because the design of this Discourse is to shew the succession from the apostles, I answer that this succession is preserved and derived only in the bishops; as the continuance of any society is deduced in the succession of the chief governors of the society, not of the inferior officers. Thus in kingdoms we reckon by the succession of the kings, not of sheriffs or constables; and in corporations, by the succession of the mayors or other chief officers,

not of the inferior bailiffs or sergeants: so the succession of the churches is computed in the succession of the bishops, who are the chief governors of the churches; and not of presbyters, who are but inferior officers under the bishops.

3. And in this the matter of fact is as clear and evident as the succession of any kings or corporations in the world.

To begin with the apostles; we find not only that they constituted Timothy bishop of Ephesus, and Titus of Crete, as in the subscriptions of St. Paul's Epistles to them: but in Eusebius and other ecclesiastical historians, you have the bishops named who were constituted by the apostles themselves over the then famous churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, and Alexandria, and many other churches, and the succession of them down all along.

St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, was disciple to St. John the apostle, and St. Irenæus, who was disciple to St. Polycarp, was constituted bishop of Lyons in France.

I mention this, because it is so near us; for in all other churches throughout the whole world wherever Christianity was planted, episcopacy was every where established without one exception, as is evident from all their records.

And so it was with us in England, whither it is generally supposed, and with very good grounds, that St. Paul first brought the Christian faith. Clemens Romanus, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, $\oint_{\cdot} v$, says, that St. Paul went preaching the gospel to the furthest bounds of the West, $\hat{\epsilon}\pi\hat{\iota}$ $\tau\hat{\iota}$ $\tau\hat{\epsilon}\mu\mu\alpha$ $\tau\hat{\eta}$; $\delta\hat{\iota}$ $\delta\sigma\epsilon\omega_5$, by which term Britain was then understood:

and Theodorit expressly names the Britains among the nations converted by the apostles, (tom. IV. Serm. 9. p. 610,) and Eusebius, in his Evangelical Demonstration, (lib. III. c. 7. p. 113,) names likewise the Britains as then converted.

But whether St. Paul, or, as some conjecture, Joseph of Arimathea, or any other apostolical person, was the first who preached Christ in England, it matters not as to our present purpose, who inquire only concerning episcopacy; and it is certain by all our histories, that as far up as they give us any account of Christianity in this island, they tell us likewise of bishops; and the succession of this church of England has been deduced in the succession of bishops, and not of presbyters; and particularly in the diocese of London, which was the first archiepiscopal see before Augustin the monk came hither, after which it was established in Canterbury. And the Saxon writers have transmitted the succession of their bishops in Canterbury, Rochester. London, &c.

And in countries so remote and barbarous as Island itself, we find the same care taken; Ara, or Aras, an Islandish priest surnamed Hinfrode the Learned, who flourished in the eleventh century, and was twenty-five years old when Christianity was brought thither, in his book of that country written in Islandish, has transmitted to posterity, not only the succession, but the genealogies of the bishops of Skalholt and Hola, (the two episcopal sees of Island,) as they succeeded one another in his time. I mention this of Island to shew that episcopacy has extended itself equally with Christianity, which was carried by it into the remotest corners of

the earth; upon which account the bishops of Skalholt and Hola, and their succession, are as remarkable proofs of episcopacy, though not so famous, as the bishops of Canterbury and London.

4. If the Presbyterians will say (because they have nothing left to say) that all London (for example) was but one parish, and that the presbyter of every other parish was as much a bishop as the bishop of London, because the words επίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος, bishop and presbyter, are sometimes used in the same sense; they may as well prove that Christ was but a deacon, because he is so called Rom. xv. 8, διάκονος, which we rightly translate a minister: and bishop signifies an overseer, and presbyter an ancient man, or elder man; whence our term of alderman. And this is as good a foundation to prove that the apostles were aldermen, in the city acceptation of the word, or that our aldermen are all bishops and apostles, as to prove that presbyters and bishops are all one, from the childish gingle of the words.

It would be the same thing if one should undertake to confront all antiquity, and prove against all the histories, that the emperors of Rome were no more than generals of armies, and that every Roman general was emperor of Rome, because he could find the word *imperator* sometimes applied to the general of an army.

Or as if a commonwealth-man should get up and say, that our former kings were no more than our dukes are now, because the style of *grace*, which is now given to dukes, was then given to kings.

And suppose that any one were put under the penance of answering to such ridiculous arguments,

what method would he take, but to shew that the emperors of Rome, and former kings of England, had generals of armies and dukes under them, and exercised authority over them?

Therefore when we find it given in charge to Timothy, the first bishop of Ephesus, how he was to proceed against his presbyters when they transgressed, to sit in judgment upon them, examine witnesses against them, and pass censures upon them, it is a most impertinent logomachy to argue. from the etymology of the words, that notwithstanding of all this, a bishop and a presbyter are the same thing: therefore that one text, 1 Tim. v. 19, is sufficient to silence this pitiful clamour of the Presbyterians; our English reads it, against an elder, which is the literal translation of the word presbuter, κατά πρεσβυτέρου, against a presbuter receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses; and them that sin rebuke before all, that others also may fear. Now upon the presbyterian hypothesis, we must say that Timothy had no authority or jurisdiction over that presbyter, against whom he had power to receive accusations, examine witnesses, and pass censures upon him; and that such a presbyter had the same authority over Timothy; which is so extravagant, and against common sense, that I will not stay longer to confute it, and think this enough to have said concerning the presbyterian argument from the etymology of the words bishop and presbyter.

And this likewise confutes their other pretence which I have mentioned, that the ancient bishoprics were only single and independent congregations, or parishes. This is a topic they have taken up but of late, (being beaten from all their other holds,) and launched by Mr. David Clarkson, in a book which he entitles Primitive Episcopacy; which has given occasion to an excellent answer by Dr. Hen. Maurice, called, A Defence of Diocesan Episcopacy, printed 1691, which I suppose has ended that controversy, and hindered the world from being more troubled upon that head. And their other little shift, and as groundless, that the primitive bishops were no other than their moderators, advanced more lately, by Gilb. Rule, late moderator of the general assembly in Scotland, has been as learnedly, and with great clearness of reason, confuted by the worthy J. S., in his Principles of the Cyprianic Age, printed 1695.

But as I said, that text, 1 Tim. v. 19, has made all these pretences wholly useless to the Presbyterians: for supposing their most notorious false supposition, as if the bishoprics of Jerusalem, Rome, Alexandria, or London, consisted but of one single congregation, and that such bishops had no presbyters under them, but that all presbyters were equally bishops; I say, supposing this, then it must follow, from what we read of Timothy, that one bishop or presbyter had jurisdiction over other bishops or presbyters, which will destroy the Presbyterian claim of parity, as much as their confession to the truth, and plain matter of fact, that bishops had presbyters under their jurisdiction, and that they were distinct orders. Notwithstanding that a bishop may be called διάκονος, a deacon, or minister of Christ; and likewise πρεσβύτερος, an elder or grave man, which is a term of magistracy and dignity, and not tied to age: and a presbyter may likewise in a sound sense be called a *bishop*, that is, an overseer or shepherd, which he truly is over his particular flock, without denying at all his dependance upon his bishop and overseer.

5. As under the term of *priest* the high-priest was included, without destroying his supremacy over the other priests, against which Korah and his presbyters, or inferior priests, arose. And if the Presbyterians will take his word, whom of all the fathers they most admire, and quote often on their side, that is St. Jerome, he will tell them in that very Epistle (ad Evagr.) which they boast favours them so much, that what Aaron and his sons, and the Levites were in the temple, that same are bishop, presbyter, and deacon in the church.

And long before him, Clemens Romanus, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, makes frequent allusion to the episcopacy of the Levitical priesthood, and argues from thence to that of the Christian church. Thus paragraph 40; "b To the high" priest," says he, "were allotted his proper offices; to the priests their proper place was as" signed; and to the Levites their services were "appointed; and the laymen were restrained with" in the precepts to laymen." And ∮. XLII, he applies that scripture, Isa. lx. 17, to the officers of the Christian church, and renders it thus; "I will "constitute their bishops in righteousness, and their "deacons in faith." The Greek translation of the LXX has it thus: "c I will give thee rulers (or

^b Τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ Ιδίαι λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι εἰσί· καὶ τοῖς ἱερεϋσιν ῖδιος ὁ τόπος προστέτακται, καὶ Λευταις Ιδίαι διακονίαι ἐπίκεινται· λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέθεται.

[·] Δώσω τοὺς ἄρχοντάς σου ἐν εἰρήνη, καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους σου ἐν δικαιοσύνη.

"princes) in peace, and thy bishops in righteous"ness."

It was the frequent method of these primitive fathers to reason thus from the parallel betwixt the Law and the Gospel; the one being an exact type of the other, and therefore being fulfilled in the other. And in this they followed the example of Christ, and the apostles, who argued in the same manner; as you may see Matth. v, 1 Cor. x, the whole Epistle to the Hebrews, and many other places of the New Testament.

6. Now the Presbyterians are desired to shew any one disparity betwixt their case and that of Korah, who was a priest of the second order, that is, a presbyter, and withdrew his obedience from the high priest with other mutinous Levites: for there was no matter of doctrine or worship betwixt them and Aaron, nor any other dispute but that of church government. And by the parallel betwixt the Old Testament and the New, Korah was a Presbyterian. who rose up against the episcopacy of Aaron. But this case is brought yet nearer home; for we are told (Jude, ver. 11) of those under the gospel who perish in the gainsaying of Korah. And in the Epistle of Clem. Rom. to the Corinthians before quoted, §. XLIII, he plainly applies this case of Korah to the state of the Christian church; shewing at large, that as Moses by the command of God determined the pretensions of the twelve tribes to the glory of the priesthood, by the miraculous budding of Aaron's rod, which was after the schism and punishment of Korah and his company; so likewise, he says, the apostles, foreknowing by Christ that dissensions would arise also in the Christian

church by various pretenders to the evangelical priesthood, did settle and establish, not only the persons themselves, but gave rules and orders for continuing the succession after their deaths, as I have before quoted his words. So that it is plain from hence, that the evangelical priesthood is as positively and certainly established and determined in the succession of ecclesiastical ordination, as the Levitical law was in the succession of Aaron; and consequently, that the rebellion of presbyters from under the government of their bishops, is the same case as the rebellion (for so it is called, Numb. xvii. 10) of Korah and his Levites against Aaron; who had as good a pretence against him from the word Levite, which was common to the whole tribe, as the Presbyterians have against bishops, from the name bishop and presbyter being used sometimes promiscuously, and applied to the clergy in general; which is a term that includes all the orders of the church, as Levite did among the Jews.

7. But, to leave the fruitless contest about words, let this matter be determined as other matters of fact are.

If I pretend to succeed any man in an honour or estate, I must name him who had such an estate or honour before me, and the man who had it before him, and who had it before him; and so up all the way to him who first had it, and from whom all the rest do derive, and how it was lawfully deduced from one to another.

This the bishops have done, as I have shewn, and can name all the way backward, as far as history goes, from the present bishop of London, for example, to the first plantation of Christianity in this kingdom; so from the present bishop of Lyons up to Irenæus the disciple of St. Polycarp, as before is told. The records are yet more certain in the great bishoprics of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and others. while they lasted in the world. And though the records may not be extant of every small bishopric. which was less taken notice of, as the names of many kings are lost in obscure nations, of many mayors or sheriffs, who notwithstanding have as certainly succeeded one another, as where the records are preserved; I say, though every bishop in the world cannot tell the names of all his predecessors up to the apostles, yet their succession is certain: and in most Christian nations there are bishops who can do it; which is a sufficient proof for the rest, all standing upon the same bottom, and being derived in the same manner.

Now to balance this, it is desired that the Presbyterians would shew the succession of any one presbyter in the world, who was not likewise a bishop, in our acceptation of the word, in the like manner from the apostles.

Till when, their small criticisms upon the etymology of the words bishop or presbyter is as poor a plea, as if I should pretend to be heir to an estate, from the likeness of my name to somebody who once had it.

And here I cannot choose but apply the complaint of our Saviour, John v. 43, If any come in the name of Christ, that is, by a commission from him, derived down all the way by regular ordination, him ye will not receive; nay, though he be otherwise a man without exception, either as to his life and conversation, or as to his gifts and sufficiency for the

ministry, you make this his commission an objection against him; for that reason alone you will not accept him. But if another come in his own name, that is, with no commission but what he has from himself, his own opinion of his own worthiness, giving out that himself is some great one, (Acts viii. 9.) him ye will receive, and follow and admire him; heaping to yourselves teachers, having itching ears, as it was prophesied of these most degenerate times, 2 Tim. iv. 3.

But as to those well-disposed Quakers, for whose information chiefly I have wrote this Discourse, I must suppose that their inquiry is wholly concerning the several titles of bishops, presbyterians, independents, &c. to the true succession from the apostles; that it may thereby be known to which of all these they ought to go for baptism.

This I have shewn in behalf of episcopacy, and put the Presbyterians to prove their succession in the form of presbytery, which they can never do; because, as I have said before, the chronology of the church does not compute from the succession of the presbyters, but only of the bishops, as being the chief governors of the church. And therefore, though in many bishoprics the roll of their bishops is preserved from the apostles to this day, yet there is not one bare presbyter, that is, the minister of a parish, and no more, no not in all the world, who can give a roll of his predecessors in that parish, half way to the apostles, or near it: for from the first plantation of Christianity the church was divided into bishoprics. This was necessary for the government of the church; but it was not so early subdivided into parishes. The presbyters at first attending upon the bishop were sent out by him to such places, and for such time, as he thought fit; and returning, gave account of their stewardships, or were visited and changed by him as he saw cause: and therefore, though one might come after another in the place where he had ministered before, yet they could not properly be said to succeed one another, as (to speak intelligibly to the Quakers) many of them do preach after G. Fox, yet none of them are said to succeed him.

I have been thus long upon the Presbyterians, because they only, of all our dissenters, have any pretence to succession. And what I have said as to them, must operate more strongly against the later Independent, Baptist, &c. who have not the face to pretend to succession, but set up merely upon their own pretended gifts.

8. But what are these gifts which they so highly heast?

First, An inward and more than ordinary participation of the graces of the Holy Spirit.

Secondly, A fluency and powerfulness in preaching and praying.

I know of no other gifts that any of our dissenters pretend to, unless they will set up for miracles, as G. Fox, &c. And other dissenters did likewise pretend to the same, at their first setting out, to amuse the people; but (as the Quakers) have let it drop afterwards, to stop any further examination of it, having already served their turn by it.

But, as to these pretended gifts, if we may trust to our Saviour's rule, of knowing the tree by its fruits, we cannot think it the Holy Spirit of which these men did partake, who filled these three nations with blood and slaughter, and whose religion was never otherwise introduced than by rebellion, in any country whithersoever it has yet come.

And as to that volubility of tongue, which they boast as the main proof of their mission, we have found it by experience, that a little confidence and custom will improve very slender judgments to great readiness in that sort of talent.

And the powerfulness which is found in it by some who are affected with a dismal tone, wry faces, and antic gestures, is not more but less, if there be either method or sense in the discourse; which shews their passion to proceed, not from reason, but imagination.

The Scots' presbyterian eloquence affords us monstrous proofs of this, but not so many as you may have from eye and earwitnesses.

Such coarse, rude, and nasty treatment of God, as they call devotion, as in itself it is the highest affront to the divine Majesty, so has it contributed in a very great measure to that wild atheism which has always attended these sort of inspirations: it seeming to many, more reasonable to worship no God at all, than to set up one on purpose to ridicule him.

But this sort of enthusiasm presumes upon a familiarity with God, which breeds contempt, and despises the sobriety of religion as a low dispensation. I recommend to the reader that excellent sermon upon this subject of Dr. Hicks, called, The Spirit of Enthusiasm exorcised: and I desire those to consider, who are most taken with these seeming extraordinary gifts of volubility and nimbleness in prayer, that the most wicked men are capable of this per-

fection; none more than Oliver Cromwell, especially when he was about some nefarious wickedness: he continued most fluently in this exercise all the time that his cutthroats were murdering of his royal master; and his gift of prayer was greatly admired. Major Weir of Edinburgh was another great instance, who was strangely adored for his gifts, especially of prayer, by the Presbyterians in Scotland, while at the same time he was wallowing in the most unnatural and monstrous sins. See his stupendous story in Ravillac Redivivus.

There are many examples of this nature, which shew that this gift is attainable by art. Dr. Wilkins (the father of the Latitudinarians) has given us the receipt in his Gift of Prayer.

Yet none of the performances of these gifted men are any ways comparable (as to the wonderful readiness in which they boast) to the extempore verses of Westminster school, which Isaac Vossius could not believe to be extempore till he gave the boys a theme, which was, Senes bis Pueri; and he had no sooner spoke the words, but he was immediately pelted with ingenious epigrams from four or five boys.

So that this volubility in prayer, which is the gift our dissenters do most glory in, may be deduced from an original far short of divine inspiration.

But suppose that they had really those wonderful gifts which they pretend to, yet were this no ground at all to countenance or warrant their making a schism upon that account.

This case has been ruled in a famous and most remarkable instance of it, (which God was pleased to permit for the future instruction of his church,) at the first setting out of the gospel, in the very days of the apostles.

Then it was that Christ, having ascended up on high, gave many and miraculous gifts unto men, which was necessary towards the first propagation of his gospel, in opposition to all the established religions and governments then in the world, and under their persecution.

But these gifts of miracles did not always secure the possessors from vanity, and an high opinion of themselves, to the disparagement of others, and even to break the order and peace of the church, by advancing themselves above their superiors, or thinking none superior to themselves.

The great apostle of the Gentiles was not freed from the tentation of this, whom the messenger of Satan was sent to buffet, lest he should be exalted above measure, through the abundance of the revelations which were given to him, 2 Cor. xii. 7. Nay more, our blessed Saviour tells of those who had miraculous gifts bestowed upon them, and yet should be finally rejected, Matth. vii. 22, 23. Therefore he instructs his disciples not to rejoice in those miraculous gifts which he bestowed upon them, but rather that their names were written in heaven, Luke x. 20; which supposes, that they might have such gifts, and yet their names not be written in heaven.

And when he taught them how to pray, he added no petition for such gifts, but only for the remission of their sins, and the sanctifying graces of the Holy Spirit, which are, as most profitable to us, so most precious in the sight of God.

Now some who had these miraculous gifts made

ill use of them, and occasioned a great schism (the first in the Christian church) at Corinth: they were exalted above measure in their own gifts, and therefore refused to submit themselves to those who were their superiors in the church, (who perhaps had not such gifts as they had,) but set up for themselves, and drew parties after them, who were charmed with their extraordinary gifts, thinking that the participation of the saving graces of the Holy Spirit must there chiefly be communicated, where God had bestowed such wonderful gifts; and they laid more stress upon the personal qualifications of these ministers of God, than upon the observance of that order and constitution which he had commanded: which was in effect preferring men to God, and trusting to the instruments rather than to the author of their religion; as if through the power and holiness of the administrators of God's institutions, and not from him alone, the graces which were promised to the due observance of them were conveved, Acts iii. 12.

And this, as it turned men from God to trust in man, so, as a necessary consequence of it, it begot great emulations among the people for one teacher against another, even (sometimes) when it was not the fault of the teachers: for people being once let loose from government and order to follow the imaginations of their own brain, will run further than their first seducers did intend, and will care for themselves.

Thus, in the schism of the church at Corinth, one was for Paul, another for Apollos, another for Cephas, &c. much against the minds of these good apostles; but having been once unsettled by the

pride and ambition of seducers, they heaped to themselves teachers, having itching ears, and made divisions among themselves pretendingly in behalf of Christ and his apostles, but in effect tending to divide Christ and his apostles, as all schisms do.

Against these St. Paul disputes with wonderful force of reason and eloquence, particularly in the twelfth chapter of his First Epistle to these same Corinthians, wherein, from the parallel of the unity of members in the same body, he admirably illustrates, that the many different and miraculous gifts, which were then dispensed all from the same Spirit, could be no more an argument for any to advance himself beyond his own station in the church, than for one member of the body, though an eve or a hand, the most useful or beautiful, to glory itself against the inferior members, (who are all actuated by the same soul.) or not to be content with its office and station in the body, and due subordination to the head. Thence the apostle goes on, and makes the application in the thirteenth chapter, that the most exalted, spiritual, or even miraculous gifts, could not only not excuse any schism to be made in the body, that is, the church; but that if any who had such gifts did not employ them for the preservation of the unity of the church, which is very properly expressed by charity, i. e. love for the whole body, such gifts would profit him nothing, lose all their virtue and efficacy as to the possessor, and be rather an aggravation against him, than any excuse for him, to withdraw his obedience from his lawful superiors, and usurp the office of the head, and so make a schism in the body upon the account of his gifts; which though they were as great as to

speak with the tongues of men and angels, to understand all mysteries and all knowledge, to have all faith, even to remove mountains, and such a zeal as to give all his goods to the poor, and his very body to be burned; yet, if it be done in schism, out of that love and charity which is due to the body, and to its unity, all is nothing, will profit him nothing at all.

And no wonder; when all that heavenly glory in which Lucifer was created could avail him nothing, when he kept not his first principality, but aspired higher, and made a schism in the hierarchy of heaven, Jude 6.

How then shall they who have (as St. Jude expresses it) left their own habitation, or station in the church, and advanced themselves above their bishops, their lawful superiors, the heads and principles of unity next and immediately under Christ in their respective churches, upon pretence of their own personal gifts and qualifications, and thereby make a schism in the terrestrial hierarchy of the church, which is the body of Christ, the fulness of him who filleth all in all, Eph. i. 23: how shall they be excused for this, whose pretended gifts are in nothing extraordinary, except in a furious zeal without knowledge, and a volubility of tongue, which proceeds from a habit of speaking without thinking, and an assurance that is never out of countenance for ten thousand blunders, which would dash and confound any man of sense or modesty, or that considered the presence of God in which he spoke?

If those truly miraculous gifts, which were made a pretence for the schism at Corinth, were not sufficient to justify that schism, how ridiculous and much more wicked is the pretence of our modern gifted men, who have pleaded their delicate gifts as a sufficient ground for all that schism and rebellion which they have raised up amongst us?

If the real gifts and inspirations of the Holy Spirit were stinted and limited by the governors of the church, to avoid schism and confusion in the church, 1 Cor. xiv. from ver. 26: if the prophets were confined as to their number to two, or at the most three at a time; some ordered to hold their peace, to give place to others; others to keep silence for want of an interpreter; and the women (though gifted or inspired, as many of them were) totally silenced in the church or public assemblies, 1 Tim. ii. 12: what spirit has possessed our modern pretenders to gifts, that will not be subject to the prophets, nor to the church, nor to any institutions, whether divine or human? But if their superiors pretend to direct them in any thing, they cry out, What! will you stint the Spirit! and think this a sufficient cause to break quite loose from their authority, and set up an open schism against them upon pretence of their wonderful gifts forsooth!

That first schism in the church of these Corinthians was vigorously opposed by the apostles and bishops of the church at that time: they, like good watchmen, would not give way to it, knowing the fatal consequences of it.

This produced two Epistles from St. Paul to the Corinthians, and two to them from St. Clement, then bishop of Rome, which are preserved and handed down to us. It was this same occasion of schism which so early began to corrupt the church, that led the holy Ignatius (who flourished in that same age)

to press so earnestly, in all his Epistles to the several churches to whom he wrote, the indispensable obligation of a strict obedience to their respective bishops; that the laity should submit themselves to the presbyters and deacons, as to the apostolical college under Christ; and that the presbyters and deacons, as well as the laity, should obey their bishop as Christ himself, whose person he did represent: that therefore whoever kept not outward communion with his bishop did forfeit his inward communion with Christ: that no sacraments were valid or acceptable to God which were not celebrated in communion with the bishop; that nothing in the church should be done, nor any marriage contracted, without the bishop's consent, &c. as you will see hereafter.

These clear testimonies forced the Presbyterians (because they were not in a temper to be convinced) to deny these Epistles of St. Ignatius to be genuine; but they have been so fully vindicated, particularly by the most learned bishop of Chester, Dr. Pearson, as to silence that cavil, and leave no pretence remaining against episcopacy in that primitive and apostolical age.

SECT. III.

Objection from the times of popery in this kingdom, as if that did unchurch, and consequently break the succession of our bishops.

I MUST now account for an objection, which with some seems a mighty one, even enough to overthrow all that I have said concerning the succession of our bishops, and that is the long midnight of popery which has in old time darkened these nations.

Well: the succession of which I have been speaking was no part of that darkness, and we have, by God's blessing, recovered ourselves in a great measure from that darkness: but that darkness was such as, with some, to destroy the episcopal succession; because, as they say, such great errors, especially that of idolatry, does quite unchurch a people, and consequently must break their succession.

- 1. This, by the way, is a popish argument, though they that now make it are not aware of it: for the church of Rome argues thus, that idolatry does unchurch; and therefore, if she was idolatrous for so long a time as we charge upon her, it will follow, that for so many ages there was no visible church, at least in these western parts of the world: and Arianism (which is idolatry) having broke in several times upon the church, if idolatry did quite unchurch and break the succession, there would not be a Christian church hardly left in the world: the consequence of which would be as fatal to the church of Rome as to us; therefore let her look to that position, which she has advanced against us, that idolatry does unchurch.
- 2. But that it does not unchurch, I have this to offer against those Papists, Quakers, and others, who make the objection.
- (1.) If it does quite unchurch, then could no Christian be an idolater, because by that he would ipso facto cease to be a member of the Christian church: but the scripture does suppose that a Christian may be an idolater, therefore idolatry does not unchurch. The minor is proved, 1 Cor. v. 11, If any man that is called a brother (that is, a Chris-

tian) be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater—nay, Eph. v. 5, a covetous man is called an idolater; and Col. iii. 5, covetousness is idolatry. So that, by this argument, covetousness does unchurch. If it be said that covetousness is called idolatry only by allusion, but that it is not formal idolatry; I know no ground for that distinction: the scripture calls it idolatry, and makes no distinction.

But in the first text quoted, 1 Cor. v. 11, both covetousness and idolatry are named; so that you have both material and formal, or what other sort of idolatry you please to fancy.

I grant that in one sense idolatry does unchurch, that is, while we continue in it, it renders us obnoxious to the wrath of God, and forfeits our title to the promises which are made to the church in the gospel: but so does fornication, covetousness, and every other sin, till we repent, and return from it. But none of these sins do so unchurch us as to exclude our returning to the fold by sincere repentance, or to need a second baptism or admission into the church: neither does idolatry. Do I then put idolatry upon the level with other common sins? No, far from it. Every scab is not a leprosy, yet a leper is a man, and may recover his health. Idolatry is a fearful leprosy, but it does not therefore quite unchurch, nor throw us out of the covenant: for if it did, then would not repentance heal it, because repentance is a great part of the covenant: and therefore since none deny repentance to an idolater, it follows that he is not vet quite out of the covenant. Some of the ancients have denied repentance to apostasy, yet granted it to idolatry; which shews that they did not look upon idolatry

to be an absolute apostasy; for every sin is an apostasy in a limited sense.

(2.) Let us in this disquisition follow the example before mentioned of the apostles and most primitive fathers, to measure the Christian church with its exact type, the church under the law; which are not two churches, but two states of the same church; for it is the same Christian church from the first promise of Christ, Gen. iii. 15, to the end of the world: and therefore it is said, Heb. iv. 2, that the gospel was preached unto them, as well as unto us. And these two states of the church before and after Christ do answer like a pair of indentures to one another, the one being to an iota fulfilled in the other, Matt. v. 18.

Now we find frequent lapses to idolatry in the church of the Jews; yet did not this unchurch them, no, nor deprive them of a competent measure of God's holy Spirit, as it is written, Neh. ix. 18, 20, Yea, when they had made them a molten calf, and said, This is thy God—yet thou in thy manifold mercies for sookest them not—Thou gavest thy good Spirit to instruct them, &c.

And let it be here observed, that though God sent many prophets to reprove the great wickedness and idolatry as well of their priests as people, yet none of these holy prophets did separate communion from the wicked priests; they would not join in their idolatrous worship, but in all other parts they joined with them, and set up no opposite priesthood to them. So little did the prophets think that their idolatry had either unchurched them or broke the succession of the priests; or that it was lawful for any, how holy soever, to usurp upon their priest-

hood, and supply the deficiencies of it to the people. And apply to this what I have before shewn in the words of St. Clement, whose name is written in the book of life, that the evangelical priesthood is as surely fixed in the bishops of the church, and its succession continued in those ordained by them, as the Levitical priesthood was confirmed by the budding of Aaron's rod, and to be continued in that tribe.

3. And here let our Korahites, of several sizes, take a view of the heinousness of their schism; and let them not think their crime to be nothing, because they have been taught with their nurses' milk to have the utmost abhorrence to the very name of a bishop, though they could not tell why: let them rather consider seriously the misfortune of their education, which should make them strangers to all the rest of the Christian world but themselves in a corner, and to all the former ages of Christianity.

They have been told that episcopacy is popery, because the papists have bishops.

So have they presbyters too, that is, parish priests; they have the creed likewise, and the holy scriptures: and all these must be popish, if this be a good argument.

But are they willing to be undeceived? then they must know that episcopacy has none so great an enemy as the papacy, which would engross the whole episcopal power into the single see of Rome, by making all other bishops absolutely dependent upon that which only they call the apostolical chair. And no longer since than the council of Trent the pope endeavoured, with all his interest, to have epi-

scopacy, except only that of the bishop of Rome, to be declared not to be *jure divino*: by which no other bishops could claim any other power but what they had from him. But that council was not so quite degenerated as to suffer this to pass.

And the Jesuits and others who disputed there on the pope's part used those same arguments against the divine right of episcopacy, which from them, and the popish canonists and schoolmen, have been licked up by the Presbyterians and others of our dissenters: they are the same arguments which are used by pope and presbyter against episcopacy.

When the pope could not carry his cause against episcopacy in the council of Trent, he took another method, and that was, to set up a vast number of presbyterian priests, that is, the Regulars, whom he exempted from the jurisdiction of their respective bishops, and framed them into a method and discipline of their own, accountable only to superiors of his and their own contriving, which is exactly the presbyterian model.

These usurpations upon the episcopal authority made the famous archbishop of Spalato quit his great preferments in the church of Rome, and travel into England, in the reign of king James I, to seek for a more primitive and independent episcopacy. Himself, in his Consilium Profectionis, gives these same reasons for it; and that this shameful depression and prostitution of episcopacy in the church of Rome was the cause of his leaving her.

He observed truly, that the further we search upward in antiquity, there is still more to be found of the episcopal, and less of the papal eminency.

St. Ignatius is full in every line almost of the

high authority of the bishop, next and immediately under Christ, as all the other writers in those primitive times: but there is a profound silence in them all of that supremacy in the bishop of Rome. which is now claimed over all the other bishops of the catholic church: which could not be, if it had been then known in the world. This had been a short and effectual method, whereby St. Paul or St. Clement might have quieted the great schism of the Corinthians, against which they both wrote in their Epistles to them, to bid them refer their differences to the infallible judge of controversy, the supreme pastor at Rome. But not a word like this; especially considering that St. Peter was one for whom some of these Corinthians strove (1 Cor. i. 12) against those who preferred others before him.

The usurped supremacy of the later bishops of Rome over their fellow bishops has been as fatal to episcopacy as the rebellion of our yet later presbyters against their respective bishops.

And indeed, whoever would write the true history of presbyterianism, must begin at Rome, and not at Geneva.

So very groundless as well as malicious is that popular clamour of episcopacy having any relation to popery. They are so utterly irreconcilable, that it is impossible they can stand together; for that moment that episcopacy were restored to its primitive independency, the papacy, that is, that supremacy which does now distinguish it, must *ipso facto* cease. But enough of this, for I must not digress into various subjects.

I have shewn, in answer to the objection of the ages of popery in this kingdom, that all those

errors, even idolatry itself, does not unchurch, nor break succession. And, 2dly, I have exemplified this from the parallel of the Jewish church under the law. Then, applying this to our case, I have vindicated episcopacy from the imputation of popery. I will now go on to further reasons why the succession of our present bishops is not hurt by that deluge of popery which once covered the face of this land.

(4.) The end of all government, as well in the church as state, is to preserve peace, unity, and order; and this cannot be done, if the maladministration of the officers in the government did vacate their commission, without its being recalled by those who gave such commission to them. For then, 1st, every man must be judge when such a commission is vacated; and then no man is bound to obey longer than he pleases: 2dly, one may say it is vacated, another not; whence perpetual contention must arise.

A man may forfeit his commission, that is, do those things which give just cause to his superiors to take it from him; but it is not actually vacated, till it be actually recalled by those who have lawful power to take it from him: otherwise there could be no peace nor certainty in the world, either in public or in private affairs; no family could subsist, no man enjoy an estate, no society whatever could keep together. And the church being an outward society, (as shewn in the Discourse of Water-Baptism, sect. III,) must consequently subsist by those laws which are indispensable to every society. And though idolatry does justly forfeit the commission of any church in this sense, that

God's promises to her being conditional, he may justly take her commission from her, and remove her candlestick: I say, though her commission be thus forfeitable, yet it still continues, and is not actually vacated, till God shall please actually to recall it, or take it away: for no commission is void, till it be so declared. Thus, though the Jews did often fall into idolatry, yet (as before has been said) God did bear long with them, and did not unchurch them, though they had justly forfeited. And these wicked husbandmen, who slew those whom the lord sent for the fruits of his vineyard, yet continued still to be the husbandmen of the vineyard, till their lord did dispossess them, and gave their vineyard unto others.

And natural reason does enforce this: if a steward abuse his trust, and oppresses the tenants, yet are they still obliged to pay their rent to him, and his discharges are sufficient to them against their landlord, till he shall supersede such a steward.

If a captain wrong and cheat his soldiers, yet are they obliged to remain under his command till the king, who gave him his commission, or those to whom he has committed such an authority, shall cashier him.

And thus it is in the sacerdotal commission: abuses in it do not take it away, till God, or those to whom he has committed such an authority, shall suspend, deprive, or degrade (as the fact requires) such a bishop or a priest.

And there is this higher consideration in the sacerdotal commission than in those of civil societies, viz. that it is immediately from God: as none therefore can take this honour to himself but he that is called of God, as was Aaron; so can none take it away, but he that is as expressly and outwardly called thereunto, as Aaron was to be a priest. For this would be to usurp upon God's immediate prerogative, which is to constitute his own priests. Upon this foundation I argue:

5. As the necessity of government, and the general commands in scripture of obedience to government, do require our submission to the government in being, where there is no competition concerning the titles, or any that claims a better right than the possessor; so where a church once established by God, though suffering many interruptions, does continue, her governors ought to be acknowledged, where there is no better claim set up against them.

This was the reason why our Saviour and his apostles did without scruple acknowledge the high priest and sanhedrin of the Jews in their time, though from the days of the Maccabees there had been great interruptions and breaches in the due succession of their priests, and before Christ came, and all his time, the Romans, as conquerors, disposed of the priesthood as they pleased, and made it annual and arbitrary, which God had appointed hereditary and unmoveable.

But there was then no competition: the Jews did submit to it, because they were under the subjection of the Romans, and could have no other. No high priest claimed against him in possession, but all submitted to him.

And our Saviour did confirm his authority, and of the sanhedrin, or inferior priests with him, (Matt. xxiii. 2,) saying, The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat: all therefore whatsoever they bid you

observe, that observe and do. And St. Paul owned the authority of the high priest, Acts xxiii. 5.

Many objections might have been raised against the deduction of their succession from Moses: but there being none who claimed any better right than they had, therefore their right was uncontroverted, and by our Saviour's authority was confirmed.

Now suppose some interruptions had been in the succession, or corruptions in the doctrine and worship of our English bishops in former ages, yet (as in the case of the Scribes and Pharisees) that could have no effect to invalidate their commission and authority at the present.

SECT. IV.

The assurance and consent in the episcopal communion beyond that of any other.

1. THE whole Christian world, as it always has been, so at this present is episcopal, except a few dissenters, who, in less than two hundred years last past, have arisen like a wart upon the face of the western church: for little more proportion do our dissenters here, the Hugonots in France, the Presbyterians in Holland, Geneva, and thereabouts, bear to the whole body of the Latin church, which is all episcopal. But if you compare them with the catholic church all over the world, which is all episcopal, they will not appear so big as a mole.

2. If our dissenters think it much that the church of Rome should be reckoned in the list against them, we will be content to leave them out: nay more, if we should give them all those churches which own the supremacy of Rome to be joined with them, (as they are the nearest to them,) it will be so far from

casting the balance on their side, that the other episcopal churches will by far out-number them both.

Let us then, to these dissenters against episcopacy, add the churches of Italy and Spain entire, with the popish part of Germany, France, Poland, and Hungary: (I think they have no more to reckon upon:) against these we produce the vast empire of Russia. (which is greater in extent than all these popish countries before named,) England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, and all the Lutheran churches in Germany, which will out-number both the Papists and Presbyterians before mentioned. And this comparison is only made as to the Latin church: but then we have all the rest of the Christian world wholly on the episcopal side, against both the supremacy of Rome and parity of the Presbyterians: the whole Greek church, the Armenians, Georgians, Mingrelians, Jacobites, the Christians of St. Thomas, and St. John in the East Indies, and other oriental churches. Then in Africa, the Cophties in Egypt, and great empire of the Abyssins in Ethiopia. These all are episcopal, and never owned the supremacy of Rome; and over-reckon, out of sight, all that disown episcopacy, and all that own the supremacy of Rome with them.

3. Let me add, that among our dissenters every class of them does condemn all the rest; the Presbyterian damns the Quaker; the Quaker damns him; Independent, Baptist, &c. all damn one another, and each denies the other's ordination or call.

So that the ordination of every one of them is disowned by all the rest, and all of them together by the whole Christian world. And if their ordinations are not valid, then they have no more authority to administer the sacraments than any other laymen; and consequently there can be no security in receiving baptism from any of them.

4. What allowances God will make to those who think their ordination to be good enough, and that they are true ministers of the gospel, and, as such, do receive the sacraments from them, I will not determine.

But they have no reason to expect the like allowances who are warned of it beforehand, and will notwithstanding venture upon it, before these dissenters have fully and clearly acquitted themselves of so great and universal a charge laid against them; such an one as must make the whole Christian world wrong, if they be in the right: not only the present Christian churches, but all the ages of Christianity since Christ: of which the dissenters are desired to produce any one, in any part of the world, that were not episcopal-any one constituted church upon the face of the earth, that was not governed by bishops distinct from and superior to presbyters, before the Vaudois in Piedmont, the Hugonots in France, the Calvinists in Geneva, and the Presbyterians thence transplanted in this last age into Holland, Scotland, and England.

If it should be retorted, that neither is the church of England without opposers; for that the church of Rome opposes her, as do likewise our dissenters.

Ans. None of them do oppose her in the point we are now upon, that is, the validity of episcopal ordination, which the church of Rome does own; and the Presbyterians dare not deny it, because they

would (thereby) overthrow all their own ordinations; for the presbyters, who reformed (as they call it) from bishops, received their ordinations from bishops.

And therefore, though the episcopal principles do invalidate the ordination by presbyters, yet the Presbyterian principles do not invalidate the ordination by bishops: so that the validity of episcopal ordination stands safe on all sides, even by the confession of those who are enemies to the episcopal order; and in this the bishops have no opposers.

Whereas, on the other hand, the validity of the Presbyterian ordinations is owned by none but themselves, and they have all the rest of the world as opposite to them.

Therefore, to state the case the most impartially, to receive baptism from these dissenters, is at least a hazard of many thousands to one; as many as all the rest of Christianity are more than they: but to receive it from the bishops, or episcopal clergy, has no hazard at all as to its validity, even as owned by the Presbyterians themselves.

SECT. V.

The personal sanctity of the administrator of the sacraments, though highly requisite on his part, yet not of necessity as to the receivers, to convey to them the benefits of the sacraments.

1. THE only objection of those Quakers, who are otherwise convinced of the obligation of the sacraments, is the necessity they think there is of great personal holiness in the administrators; without which they cannot see how the spiritual effects of the sacraments can be conveyed. But I would beseech them to consider, how by this, instead of re-

ferring the glory to God, and lessening the performance of man, which I charitably presume (and I am confident as to some of whom I speak) that it is their true and sincere intention; but instead of that, I do in great good-will invite them to reflect whether their well-intended zeal has not turned the point of this question—even to over-magnify man, and transfer the glory of God unto his weak instrument, as if any (the least part) of the divine virtue which God has annexed to his sacraments did proceed from his minister. If this be not the meaning, (as sure it is not,) why so much stress laid upon the sanctity of the ministers? as if through their power or holiness the Holy Ghost was given, Acts iii. 12.

- 2. To obviate this pretence, our Saviour Christ chose a devil (John vi. 70) to be one of his apostles; and he was sent to baptize and work miracles as well as the rest: and those whom Judas did baptize were no doubt as well baptized, and did partake of the communication of the Spirit (according to their preparation for it) as much as any who were baptized by the other apostles; unless you will say that Christ sent him to baptize who had no authority to baptize, and that none should receive benefit by his baptism; which would be to cheat and delude the people; and is a great blasphemy against Christ, and a distrust of his power; as if it were limited by the poor instrument he pleases to make use of; whereas.
- 3. His greatness is often most magnified in the meanness of the instruments by which he works. Thus he destroyed Egypt by frogs and lice, and the Philistines by emerods and mice, and sent his armies of flies and hornets to dispossess the Canaanites.

Psalm viii. 2. Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger; i. e. that the enemies of God might be confounded, when they saw his great power exerted by such weak and contemptible instruments. The walls of Jericho (the type of spiritual wickedness) were thrown down by the blast of seven rams' horns. when blown by the priests whom he had commanded: and he rebuked the iniquity of Balaam by the mouth of an ass, to shew that no instruments are ineffectual in his hands; and made use of the mouth of Balaam to prophesy of Christ. For this cause, says St. Barnabasc, in his catholic epistle, c. 5, did Christ choose men who were exceeding great sinners to be his apostles, to shew the greatness of his power and grace, and put the inestimable treasure of his gospel into earthen vessels, that the praise might be to God, and not to men.

4. St. Paul rejoiced in Christ being preached, Phil. i. 16, though not sincerely by those who did it, because God can bring good out of evil, and by wicked instruments propagate his gospel, turning their malice (even of the Devil himself) to the furtherance of the faith: otherwise the apostle could have no cause to rejoice in the preaching of wicked men, if none could receive benefit by it: and he plainly supposes, 1 Cor. ix. 27, that a man may save others by his preaching, and yet himself be a castaway.

5. And so far as we can know or judge any thing, we see daily experience of this, that God has touched

[&]quot;Υπέρ πάσαν άμαρτίαν άνομωτέρους.

men's hearts upon hearing the truth spoken, though by men who were great hypocrites, and very wicked. And what reason can be given to the contrary? Truth is truth, whoever speaks it; and if my heart be prepared, the good seed receives no evil tincture of the hand that sowed it; and who can limit God, that his grace may not go along with me in this?

I have heard some of the now separate Quakers confess, that they have formerly felt very sensible operations of the Spirit upon the preaching of some of those whom they have since detected of gross errors and hypocrisies, and they now think it strange: but this were enough to convince them that the wind bloweth where it listeth; otherwise they must condemn themselves, and confess, that in all that time they had no true participation of the Spirit of God, but that what they mistook for it was a mere delusion; or else confess that by the truths which were spoken by these ministers of Satan, (for they speak some truths,) God might work a good effect upon the hearts of some well-disposed, though then ignorant and much deluded people. If not so, we must judge very severely of all those who live in idolatrous or schismatical countries: there were great prophets and good men among the ten tribes; and if the words, nay miracles, of Christ, did render the hearts of many yet more obdurate, even to sin against the Holy Ghost, Matth. xii. from ver. 22 to ver. 32, which was the reason why he sometimes refused to work miracles among them, because thereby they grew worse and worse; and if the preaching of the gospel by the mouths of the apostles became the savour of death to wicked and unprepared hearts, why may not the words of truth have a good

effect upon honest and good minds, though spoken from the mouth of an hypocrite, or of persons who in other things are greatly deluded?

I have before mentioned the wizard major Weir, who bewitched the Presbyterians in Scotland since the restoration, 1660, as much as Simon Magus did the Samaritans; and yet I suppose the more moderate of the Quakers will not rashly give all over to destruction who blindly followed him, and admired his gifts; or will say but that some words of truth he might drop might have a real good effect upon some well-meaning, though grossly deluded people who followed him. Two of Winder's witches (see the Snake in the Grass, p. 294, vol. iv.) were preachers among the Quakers for twenty years together, and thought to be as powerful and affecting as any others.

6. But the argument will hold stronger against them as to the sacraments than in the office of preaching; because in preaching much depends upon the qualifications of the person, as to invention, memory, judgment, &c.: but in the administration of an outward sacrament nothing is required as of necessity but the lawfulness of the commission by which such a person does administer; and a small measure of natural or acquired parts is sufficient to the administration.

Therefore let us lay no stress upon the instrument, (more than was upon the waters of Jordan to heal Naaman,) but trust wholly upon the commission which conveys the virtue from God, and not from his ministers; that all the glory may be to God, and not to man.

'Tis true, the personal qualifications of the instru-

ment are lovely and desirable, but they become a snare where we expect any part of the success from them. This was the ground of the Corinthian schism, (1 Cor. i. 11,) and, though unseen, of ours at this day.

- 7. And the consequences of it are of manifold and fatal destruction.
- (1.) This unsettles all the assurance we can have in God's promise to assist his own institution; for if the virtue, or any part of it, lies in the holiness of the instrument, we can never be sure of the effect as to us; because we have no certain knowledge of the holiness of another: hypocrites deceive even good men.
- (2.) This would quite disappoint the promise Christ had made, Matth. xxviii. 20, to be with his ministers in the execution of his commission; to baptize, &c. always, even unto the end of the world. For if the holiness of the instrument be a necessary qualification, this may fail, nay always must fail, so far as we can be sure of it; and consequently Christ has commanded baptism and his supper to continue to the end of the world, till his coming again, and vet has not afforded means whereby they may be continued: which he has not done, if the holiness of the administrator be a necessary qualification; and that he has not left us a certain rule whereby to judge of the holiness of another; and thus have you rendered the command of Christ of none effect through your tradition.
- (3.) This is contrary to all God's former institutions: the wickedness of the priests under the law did not excuse any of the people from bringing of their sacrifices to the priests; the priests were to

answer for their own sin, but the people were not answerable for it, or their offerings the less accepted.

But we were in a much worse condition under the gospel administration, if the effect of Christ's institutions did depend either wholly or in part upon the personal holiness of his priests. This would put us much more in their power than it is the intention of those who make this objection to allow to them; this magnifies men more than is due to them; therefore I will apply the apostle's words to this case, 1 Cor. iii. 21, 5, 7. Let no man glory in men: who is Paul, and who is Apollos, but ministers?——So then, neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth; but God who giveth the increase.

(4.) This was (with others) the error of the ancient Donatists, those proud and turbulent schismatics, the great disturbers of the peace of the church, upon an opinion of their own sanctity above that of other men; for which reason they rejected all baptisms except what was performed by themselves, and rebaptized those who came over to them from the church: for they said that the holiness of the administrator was necessary towards conveying the spiritual graces of baptism: thus they argued, Qui non habet quod det, quomodo dat? i. e. " How shall " a man give that to another which he has not him-" self?" But Optatus answers themd, that God was the giver, and not man; Videte Deum esse datorem. And he argues that it was preferring themselves before God to think that the virtue of baptism did

 $^{^{\}rm d}$ Adv. Parmen, lib. V. de Schismat, Donatist. ed. Paris. 1631, p. 87.

come from them; that they were nothing but ministers or workmen: and that, as when a cloth was dved, the change of the cloth came from the colours infused, not from the virtue of the dver; so that in baptism the change of the baptized came from the virtue of the sacraments, not from the administrator; that it was the water of baptism which did wash, not the person who applied the water; that the personal sanctity of the administrator signified nothing to the efficacy of the sacrament: therefore, savs hee, Nos operemur ut ille det, qui se daturum esse promisit, i. e. "Let us work, that God, who " has promised it, may bestow the effect;" and that when we work, Humana sunt opera, sed Dei sunt munera, i. e. "The work is man's, but the gift is " God's "

^fAnd thence he exposes that ridiculous principle of the Donatists, which they advanced to gain glory to themselves, that the gift in baptism was of the administrator, and not of the receiver; but he shews that the gift was conferred by God proportionably to the faith of the receiver, and not according to the holiness of the administrator.

The discourse is large to which I refer the reader: I have given this taste of it to let these see to whom I now write, that they have (though unaware) stumbled upon the very notion of the Donatists, which divided them from the catholic church, and which, with them, has been long since exploded by the

Adv. Parmen, lib. V. de Schismat. Donatist. ed. Paris. 1631, p. 88.

Jam illud quam ridiculum est, quod, quasi ad gloriam vestram, a vobis semper auditur, hoc munus baptismatis est dantis, non accipientis? p. 89.

whole Christian world; and I hope this may bring them to a more sober mind, to consider from whence and with whom they have fallen; and to return again to the peace of the church, and the participation of the blessed sacraments of Christ, and the inestimable benefits which he has promised to the worthy receivers of them.

Lastly, Let me observe that this error of the Donatists and Quakers borders near upon popery, nay rather seems to exceed it: for the church of modern Rome makes the validity of the sacraments to depend upon the intention of the priest; but his intention is much more in his own power, and there are more evident signs of it, than of his holiness.

8. I would not have the Quakers imagine that any thing I have said was meant in excuse for the ill lives of the clergy of the church of England; as if the dissenters were unblameable, but our clergy wholly prostitute to all wickedness; and that for this cause we plead against the sanctity of the administrator as essential to the sacrament.

No, that is far from the reason; I do not love to make comparisons, or personal reflections; if all men be not as they should be, pray God make them so. But I think there is no modest dissenter will be offended if I say, that there are of our bishops and clergy, men, not only of learning and moral honesty, but of devotion and spiritual illumination, and as much of the sobriety of religion, and can give as many signs of it, equally at least (to speak modestly) as any of our dissenters, of what denomination soever.

9. And I hope that what I have said will at least hinder the succession of the bishops from the apo-

stles to be any objection against them: and they being possessed moreover of all the other pretences of our dissenters, the balance must needs lie on their side, and security can only be with them; because there is doubt in all the other schemes of the dissenters, if what I have said can amount but to a doubt. If the want of succession and outward commission, upon which Christ and his apostles, and the whole Christian church in all ages till the last century, and in all places, even at this day, except some corners in the west, and the Mosaical institution before them, did, by the express command of God, lay so great a stress; if all this make but a doubt (it is strange that it should, at least that it should not) in the mind of any considering persons, then can they not with security communicate with any of our dissenters, because, if he that eateth and doubteth is damned, Rom. xiv. 13, much more he that shall do so in religious matters, wherein chiefly this rule must stand, that whatsoever is not of faith is sin.

10. But now, to argue a little *ad hominem*, suppose that the succession of our bishops were lost; and suppose, what the Quakers and some others would have, that the thread being broke, we must cast a new knot and begin again, and make an establishment amongst ourselves the best we can. Well, when this is done, ought not that establishment to be preserved? Ought every one to break in upon it without just cause? Should every one take upon him (or her) to preach or baptize contrary to the rules established? This, I think, no society of men will allow; for the members of a society must be subject to the rules of the society, otherwise it is

no society: and the Quakers of Gracechurch-street communion have contended as zealously for this compliance as any.

Now then, suppose that the conscientious Quakers, to whom I speak, should lay no stress at all upon the succession of our bishops, and consider our constitution no otherwise than of an establishment by agreement amongst ourselves; yet, even so, by their own confession, while they can find no fault with our doctrine or worship, they ought not to make a schism in this constitution which they found established, and they ought to return to it; and if a new knot was cast upon the broken thread of succession at the reformation from popery, that knot ought not to be unloosed without apparent and absolute necessity, lest if we cast new knots every day, we shall have no thread left unknotted, and expose ourselves to the derision of the common adversary.

11. Consider the grievous sin of schism and division, it is no less than the rending of Christ's body: and therefore great things ought to be borne, rather than run into it; even all things, except only that which is apparently sinful, and that by the express words of scripture, and not from our own imaginations, though never so strong. And though there are some imperfections in our reformation as to discipline, and all the high places are not yet taken away, (the Lord of his mercy quickly remove them,) vet I will be bold to say, that in our doctrine, worship, and hierarchy, nothing can be objected that is contrary to the rule of holy scripture, or any thing enjoined which is there forbid to be done: and nothing less can warrant any schism against our church.

12. Now to come to a conclusion upon the whole matter. If you cannot get baptism as you would have it, take it as you can get it. If you cannot find men of such personal excellencies as the apostles, take those who have the same commission which they had, derived down to them by regular ordination; who reformed from popery, and have been the established church of this nation ever since; and moreover are as unexceptionable in their lives and conversations as any others. These are all the securities you can have (without new miracles) for receiving the sacraments from proper hands. And therefore there is no doubt but God will accept of your obedience in receiving them from such hands, much rather than your disobedience of his command to be baptized, because you are not pleased with those whom his providence has at this day left in the execution of his commission to baptize; as if the weakness of his minister could obstruct the operations of his Spirit, in making good his part of the covenant which he has promised.

13. There is an objection against baptism which is not worth an answer; but that I would condescend to the meanest, and leave nothing behind which might be a stumblingblock to any.

I have heard it urged, that there is no visible effects seen by our baptisms; that men remain wicked and loose notwithstanding; and therefore some do conclude that there is no virtue in baptism.

Answ. To make this argument of any force, it must be proved that none do receive any benefit by it: for if some do receive benefit by it, and others do not, this must be charged upon the disposition of the recipient, according to the known rule, that

whatsoever is received, is received according to the disposition of the receiver. Thus the same meat is turned into good nourishment in an healthy, and into noxious humours in a vitiated stomach. Simon Magus received no benefit by his baptism; and after the sop the Devil entered into Judas; yet the other apostles received great benefit by it. To some it is the savour of life, even the communion of Christ's body and blood; to others of condemnation, who discern not the Lord's body in it, but receive it as a common thing, 1 Cor. x. 16; xi. 29. Therefore we are commanded, ver. 28, to examine ourselves, to prepare our hearts for the worthy receiving of it.

But some say, as the Jews to Christ, shew us a sign; they would have some miraculous effects immediately to appear. These are ignorant of the operations of the Spirit; and to these I say in the words of Christ, John iii. 8, The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, or whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit: it works silently, but powerfully; and its progress, like the growing of our bodies, is not all at once, but by degrees, whose motion is imperceptible to human eyes.

The true use that is to be made of this objection, that so few (and yet they are not few who) receive the inestimable benefits which are conveyed in the sacraments of Christ's institution, is this, to take the greater care, and the more earnestly to beg the assistance of God's grace to fit and prepare us for the worthy receiving of them, but by no means to neglect them; for those who refused to come to the supper were rejected, as well as he who came without a wedding garment.

A SUPPLEMENT

THE stress of this Discourse being founded upon episcopacy, and long quotations being improper in so short a method of argument as I have taken; to supply that defect, and at the same time to make it easier to the reader, I have added, by way of supplement, a short index or collection of authorities in the first four hundred and fifty years after Christ for episcopacy, with respect to the Presbyterian pretences, of making a bishop all one with a presbyter, at least with one of their moderators: and, in the next place, I have shewn the sense of the reformation, as to episcopacy. Take them as follows.

Some authorities for episcopacy, as distinct from and superior to presbytery, taken out of the fathers and councils in the first four hundred and fifty years after Christ.

Anno Domini 70. St. Clement bishop of Rome, and martyr, of whom mention is made, Phil. iv. 3, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, §. 42, p. 89 of the edition at Oxford, 1677.

"a The apostles having preached the gospel through regions and cities, did constitute the firstfruits of them, having proved them by the Spirit,
to be bishops and deacons of those who should believe; and this, not as a new thing, for many ages
before it was written concerning bishops and deacons; for thus saith the scripture, in a certain

³ Κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες, καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτάν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ ψελλόντων πιστεύει, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ καινῶς, όκ γὰρ δὴ πολλῶν χρόνων ἐγέγγραπτο περὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ διακόνων οὕτως γάρ που λέγει ἡ γραφὴ, Καταστήσω τοὺς ἐπισκόπων αὐτὰν ἐν διακιστώνη, καὶ τοὺς διακόνους αὐτὰν ἐν πίστει.

" place, I will constitute their bishops in righteous" ness and their deacons in faith, Isa. lx. 17"

"bWhat wonder is it then that those who were intrusted by God in Christ with this commission "should constitute those before spoke of?"

Ibid. §. 44. "c And the apostles knew by the "Lord Jesus Christ that contests would arise con"cerning the episcopal name, (or order;) and for
"this cause, having perfect foreknowledge (of these
"things), they did ordain those whom we have
"mentioned before; and moreover did establish the
"constitution, that other approved men should suc"ceed those who died in their office and ministry."

"dTherefore those that were constituted by them, "or afterwards by other approved men, with the "consent of all the church, and have administered "to the flock of Christ unblameably, with humility and quietness, without all stain of filth or naughtimess, and have carried a good report of a long

^h Καὶ τί θαυμαστὸν, εὶ οἱ ἐν Χριστῷ πιστευθέντες παρὰ Θεοῦ ἔργον τοιοῦτο, κατέστησαν τοὶς προειρημένους;

καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, διὰ ταὐτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν, πρόγνωσιν εἰληφότες τελείαν, κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους, καὶ μεταξῦ ἐπικομὴν δεδώκασιν, ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται ἔτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἀνθρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν.

Τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων, ἢ μεταξὺ ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης, καὶ λειτουργήσαντας ἀμέμπτως τῷ ποιμνίφ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης, ἡσύχως καὶ ἀβαναύσως, μεμαρτυρημένους τε πολλοῖς χρόνοις ὑπὸ πάντων, τούτους οἱ δικαίας νομίζομεν ἀποβαλέσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας. ἀμαρτία γὰρ οἱ μκρὰ ἡμὶν ἔσται, ἐὰν τοὺς ἀμέμπτως καὶ ὁσίως προσενέγκοντας τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀποβάλωμεν. Μακάριοι οἱ προοδοιπορήσαντες πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ τινες ἔγκαρπον καὶ τελείαν ἔσχω τὴν ἀνάλυσιν' οἱ γὰρ εὐλαβοῦνται μή τις αὐτοὺς μεταστήση ἀπὸ τοῦ δίρυμένου αὐτοῖς τόπου. 'Ορᾶμεν γὰρ ὅτι ἐνίους ὑμεῖς μετηγάγετε καλῶς πολιτευρμένως ἐκ τῆς ἀμέμπτως αὐτοῖς τετιμημένης λειτουργίας.

"time from all men, I think cannot, without great injustice, be turned out of their office: for it will be no small sin to us, if we thrust those from their bishoprics who have holily and without blame offered our gifts (and prayers to God). Blessed are those priests who are happily dead, for they are not afraid of being ejected out of the places in which they are constituted: for I understand that you have deprived some from their ministry, who behaved themselves unreprovable amongst

"you." δ . 40. "°To the high priest his proper offices "were appointed; the priests had their proper "order, and the Levites their peculiar services, or "deaconships; and the laymen what was proper for "laymen."

This, as before shewn, St. Clement applied to the distribution of orders in the Christian church, bishops, priests, and deacons. And the office of the Levites is here called by the word διακονίαι, i. e. the office of deacons.

A. D. 71. St. Ignatius, a glorious martyr of Christ, was constituted by the apostles bishop of Antioch, and did thereby think that he succeeded them (as all other bishops do) in their full apostolical office. Thence he salutes the church of the Trallians in the fulness of the apostolical character; and in his Epistle he says to them,

" gBe subject to your bishops as to the Lord-

^e Τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεὶ ἰδίαι λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι εἰσί* καὶ τοῖς ἱερεϊσιν τόπος προστέτακται, καὶ Λευϊταις ἰδίαι διακοιίαι ἐπίκεινται* λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται.

ί την καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν τῷ πληρώματι, ἐν ἀποστολικῷ χαρακτῆρι.

[🖺] Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε ὡς τῷ Κυρίφ----

"h And to the presbyters, as to the apostles of "Christ—Likewise the deacons also, being min"isters of the mysteries of Christ, ought to please
in all things—Without these there is no church
of the elect—He is without who does any thing
without the bishop, and presbyters, and deacons;
and such a one is defiled in his conscience."

In his Epistle to the Magnesians, he tells them, "ithat they ought not to despise their bishop for "his youth, but to pay him all manner of reverence, "according to the commandment of God the Fa-"ther; and as I know that your holy presbyters "do"——

- "* Therefore as Christ did nothing without the "Father, so neither do ye, whether presbyter, dea"con, or laic, any thing without the bishop."
- "1 Some indeed call him bishop, yet do all things "without him; but these seem not to me to have a "good conscience, but rather to be hypocrites and "scorners."
 - " I exhort you to do all things in the same mind
- h Καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίω, ὡς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ— Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὶς διακόνους ὁντας μυστηρίων Χριστοῖ Ἰησοῦ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀρέσκειν— χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία ἐκλεκτὴ οὐκ ἔστιν— ὁ δὶ ἐκτὸς ὡς, οὖτός ἐστιν ὁ χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ τῶν διακόνων τι πράσσων ὁ τοιοῦτος μεμίανται τῷ συνείδησει.
- ἱ Καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ πρέπει μὴ καταφρονεῖν τῆς ἡλικίας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ πατρὸς πάσαν ἐντροπὴν αὐτῷ ἀπονέμειν, καθὼς ἔγνων καὶ τοὺς ἀγίους πρεσβυτέρους—...
- Κ "Ωσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ποιεῖ, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ πρεσβύτερος, μηδὲ διάκονος, μηδὲ λαϊκός.
- 1 Εἴ τινες ἐπίσκοπον μὲν λέγουσι, χωρὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα ποιοῦσιν—Οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι οὐκ εὐσυνείδητοι, ἀλλ' εἴρωνές τινες καὶ μόρφονες εἶναι μοι φαίνωται.
- π Παραινώ, ἐν ὁμονοία Θεοῦ σπουδάπατε πάντα πράττειν προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν

" of God; the bishop presiding in the place of God; and the presbyters in room of the college of the

" apostles; and the deacons, most beloved to me,

"who are intrusted with the ministry of Jesus "Christ."

He directs his Epistle to the church at Philadel-"phia, "nto those who were in unity with their bi-"shop and presbyters and deacons."

And says to them in his Epistle, "o'That as many "as are of Christ, these are with the bishop; and "those who shall repent, and return to the unity of "the church, being made worthy of Jesus Christ, "shall partake of eternal salvation in the kingdom "of Christ."

"PMy brethren, be not deceived; if any shall follow him that makes a schism, he shall not inherit the kingdom of God."

"qI exhort you to partake of the one eucharist; for there is one body of the Lord Jesus, and one blood of his, which was shed for us; and one cup —and one altar; so there is one bishop, with his presbytery, and the deacons, my fellow-serv- ants."

ἀποστίλων· καὶ τῶν διακόνων, τῶν ἐμοὶ γλυκυτάτων, πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

η Έν ένὶ οὖσι σὺν τῷ ἐπισκόπω, καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ διακόνοις.

Ο "Όσοι γιὰρ Χριστοῦ εἰσιν, όὖτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσίν — ὅσοι ἄν μετανοήσαντες ἔλθωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἄξοιο 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ γενόμενοι, σωτηρίας αἰωνίου τύχωσιν ἐν τῆ βασιλεία τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

P 'Αδελφοί, μη πλανάσθε' εί τις σχίζοντι ἀκολουθεί, βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσει.

9 Παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς—μιῷ εἰχαριστία χίἦσθαι μία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκχυθέν εἶς καὶ ἄρτος τοῦς πᾶσιν ἐθρύφθη—ἐν θυσιαστήριον, καὶ εἶς ἐπίσκοπος ἄμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, καὶ τοῖς διακόνεις τοῖς συνδεύλοις μου. "FGive heed to the bishop, and to the presbytery, and to the deacons—Without the bishop, do nothing."

In his Epistle to the Smyrnæans, he says, " s Flee " divisions as the beginning of evils. All of you fol-"low your bishops, as Jesus Christ the Father: " and the presbyters, as the apostles; and reverence "the deacons as the institution of God. Let no " man do any thing of what appertains to the "church without the bishop. Let that sacrament " be judged effectual and firm which is dispensed "by the bishop, or him to whom the bishop has " committed it. Wherever the bishop is, there let "the people be; as where Christ is, there the hea-" venly host is gathered together. It is not lawful " without the bishop either to baptize or celebrate "the offices; but what he approves of, according to "the good pleasure of God, that is firm and safe; " and so we do every thing securely."

"I salute your most worthy bishop, your ve"nerable presbytery, and the deacons, my fellow"servants."

r Τῷ ἐπισκόπφ προσέχετε, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίφ, καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις—— χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν παιεῖτε.

⁸ Τὰ σχίσματα φεύγετε ὡς ἀρχὴν κακῶν. Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τοὺς δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέπεσθε, ὡς Θεοῦ ἐντολήν. — Μηδεὶς χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου τὶ πρασσέται τῶν ἀνηκώντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαν ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οἶσα, ἡ ῷ ἄν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψη. Ὅπο ἀν φανῆ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλήθος ἔστω, ὥσπερ ὅπου ὁ Χριστὸς πόσα ἡ οὐράνιος στρατιὰ παρέστηκεν. — Οἰκ ἐξόν ἐστι χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εὐτε βαπτίζειν, — οὖτε ὁρχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν ἀλλί ὅταν ἐκείνῳ δοκῆ κατ' εἰαρέστησιν Θεοῦ, ἱνα ἀσφαλὲς ἦ καὶ βέβαιον πῶν ὁ ἄν πράσσητε.

t 'Ασπάζομαι τὸν ἀξιόθεον ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τὸ θεοπρεπὲς πρεσβυτέριον, καὶ τοὺς διακόνους τοὺς συνδούλους.

In his Epistle to St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, and martyr, who, together with himself, was disciple to St. John the apostle and evangelist, he gives these directions:

"" If any can remain in chastity, to the glory of "the body of the Lord, let him remain without " boasting; if he boast, he perishes; and if he pre-"tends to know more than the bishop, he is cor-"rupted. It is the duty both of men and women "that marry to be joined together by the approba-"tion of the bishop, that the marriage may be in

" the Lord, and not according to our own lusts. Let " all things be done to the glory of God." " W Give heed to your bishop, that God may

"hearken unto you: my soul for theirs, who sub-" ject themselves under the obedience of their bi-"shop, presbyters, and deacons; and let me take

" my lot with them in the Lord."

And he says to bishop Polycarp, "xLet nothing " be done without thy sentence and approbation."

A. D. 180. St. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in France, who was disciple of St. Polycarp; he flourished about the year of Christ 180.

Advers. Hæres. lib. 111. c. 3. " yWe can reckon

υ Εί τις δύναται εν άγνεία μένειν, είς τιμήν της σαρκός του Κυρίου, εν άκαυχησία μενέτω έὰν καυχήσηται, ἀπώλετο καὶ έὰν γνωσθή πλην τοῦ έπισκόπου, έφθαρται. Πρέπει δε τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμούσαις μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἕνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ἦ κατὰ Κύριον, καὶ μη κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν' πάντα εἰς τιμην Θεοῦ γινέσθω.

w Τῶ ἐπισκόπω προσέγετε, ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν· ἀντίψυγον ἐγώ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων ἐπισκόπω, πρεσβυτερίω, διακόνοις μετ' αὐτῶν μοι τὸ μέρος γένοιτο έχειν παρά Θεοῦ.

x Μηδέν άνευ τῆς γνώμης σου γίνεσθω.

y Habemus numerare qui ab apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos. Et si recondita

"those bishops who have been constituted by the apostles and their successors all the way to our times. And if the apostles knew hidden mystewies, they would certainly deliver them chiefly to those to whom they committed the churches them selves, and whom they left their own successors, and in the same place of government as them selves. We have the successions of the bishops, to whom the apostolic church in every place was committed. All these (heretics) are much later than the bishops, to whom the apostles did deliver the churches."

Lib. IV. c. 6. "zThe true knowledge is the doc-"trine of the apostles, and the ancient state of the "church through the whole world; and the charac-"ter of the body of Christ according to the succes-"sion of the bishops, to whom they committed the "church that is in every place, and which has de-"scended even unto us."

Tertullian, A. D. 203. c. 32 of the Prescription of Heretics, c. 34, "a Let them produce the original of

mysteria scissent apostoli, vel his maxime traderent ea, quibus etiam ipsas ecclesias committebant; quos et successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes, lib. Iv. c. 63. Habemus successiones episcoporum quibus apostolicam quæ in unoquoque loco est ecclesiam tradiderunt, lib. v. c. 20. Omnes enim ii (hæretici) valde posteriores sunt quam episcopi, quibus apostoli tradiderunt ecclesias.

² Lib. IV. c. 6. Agnitio vera est apostolorum doctrina, et antiquus ecclesiæ status, in universo mundo, et character corporis Christi secundum successiones episcoporum, quibus illi eam quæ in unoquoque loco est ecclesiam tradiderunt, quæ pervenit usque ad nos.

^a Edant ergo origines ecclesiarum suarum; evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita ut per successiones ab initio decurren-

- "their churches; let them shew the order of their
- " bishops, that by their succession, deduced from
- "the beginning, we may see whether their first
- " bishop had any of the apostles or apostolical men,
- " who did likewise persevere with the apostles, for
- " his founder and predecessor: for thus the aposto-
- "lical churches do derive their succession; as the
- "church of Smyrna from Polycarp, whom John
- " (the apostle) placed there; the church of Rome
- " from Clement, who was in like manner ordained
- " by Peter: and so the other churches can produce
- "those constituted in their bishoprics by the apo-
- C. 36. "b Reckon over the apostolical churches, "where the very chairs of the apostles do yet pre"side in their own places; at Corinth, Philippi,
- " Ephesus, Thessalonica," &c.
- Of baptism, c. 17. "c The high priest, who is the bishop, has the power of conferring baptism, and
- "under him the presbyters and deacons; but not
- " without the authority of the bishop."

tem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis, vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem. Hoc enim modo ecclesiæ apostolicæ census suos deferunt: sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia Polycarpum ab Johanne conlocatum refert; sicut Romanorum Clementem, a Petro ordinatum itidem; perinde utique et cæteræ exhibent quos ab apostolis in episcopatum constitutos apostolici seminis traduces habeant.

b Percurre ecclesias apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ apostolorum suis locis præsident: habes Corinthum, Philippos, Ephesum, Thessalonicenses, &c.

^c Dandi (baptismum) jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus, dehine presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi authoritate. A. D. 220. Origenis Comment. in Matt. Rothomagi, 1688. Gr. Lat. p. 255, names the distinct order of bishop, presbyter, and deacon. "d Such a "bishop," says he, speaking of one who sought vain glory, &c. "doth not desire a good work—and the "same is to be said of presbyters and deacons—"The bishops and presbyters who have the chief "place among the people—The bishop is called "prince" in the churches." And speaking of the irreligious clergy, he directs it to them, whether bishops, presbyters, or deacons.

St. Cyprian, archbishop of Carthage, A. D. 240, edit. Oxon. Epist. XXXIII. Lapsis. "Our Lord, whose commands we ought to reverence and obey, being about to constitute the episcopal honour, and the frame of his church, said to Peter, Thou art Peter, &c. From thence the order of bishops and constitution of the church does descend, by the line of succession, through all times and ages, that the church should be built upon the bishops ——It is established by the divine law, that every act of the church should be governed by the bishop."

⁴ Ο γοῦν τοιοῦτος ἐπίσκοπος οὐ καλοῦ ἔργου ἐπιθυμεῖ— τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων ἐρεῖς. Ibid. p. 443. οἱ δὲ τὰς πρωτοκαθεδρίας πεπιστευμένοι τοῦ λαοῦ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι— p. 420. ὁ δὲ ἡγούμενος, οὕτω δὲ οἷμαι ὀνομάζειν τὸν καλούμενον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον.— p. 442. ἐπισκόποις, ἢ πρεσβυτέροις, ἢ διακόνοις.

e Dominus noster, cujus præcepta metuere et observare debemus, episcopi honorem et ecclesiæ suæ rationem disponens, in evangelio loquitur et dicit Petro, Ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, &c. Inde per temporum et successionum vices episcoporum ordinatio et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia super episcopos constituatur——Divina lege fundatum est, ut omnis actus ecclesiæ per episcopum gubernetur.

Ep. XLV. Cornelio. "We ought chiefly, my bro"ther, to endeavour to keep that unity which was
"enjoined by our Lord and his apostles to us their
"successors to be carefully observed by us."

Ep. 111. Rogatiano. "g The deacons ought to re-"member, that it was the Lord who chose the apo-"stles, that is, the bishops."

Ep. LXVI. *Florentio*. "h Christ said to the apo-"stles, and by that to all bishops or governors of "his church, who succeed the apostles by vicarious "ordination, and are in their stead, *He that hear-*"eth you heareth me."

Ibid. "iFor from hence do schisms and heresies "arise, and have arisen, while the bishop, who is "one, and governor of the church, by a proud presumption, is despised; and that man who is homoured as worthy by God, is accounted unworthy by man."

Ep. LIX. Cornelio. "k Nor are heresies sprung

- ^f Hoc enim vel maxime, frater, et laboramus et laborare debemus, ut unitatem a Domino et per apostolos nobis successoribus traditam quantum possumus obtinere curemus.
- g Meminisse autem diaconi debent quoniam apostolos, id est, episcopos Dominus elegit.
- h Dixit Christus ad apostolos, ac per hoc omnes præpositos, qui apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt, Qui vos audit, me audit.——
- ¹ Inde enim schismata et hæreses ortæ et oriuntur, dum episcopus qui unus est, et ecclesiæ præest, superba præsumptione contemnitur, et homo dignatione Dei honoratus, indignus hominibus judicatur.
- k Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur; nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur: cui si secundum magisteria divina obtempe-

" up, or schisms arisen from any other fountain than " from hence, that obedience is not paid to the priest " of God, and that there is not one priest at a time " in the church, and one judge for the time in the " place of Christ: to whom if the whole fraternity " did obey, according to the divine economy, none " would dare to move any thing against the sacer-"dotal college-It is necessary that the bishops " should exert their authority with full vigour-" But if it is so, that we are afraid of the boldness " of the most profligate, and that which these wicked " men cannot compass by the methods of truth and "equity, if they can accomplish by their rashness " and despair, then is there an end of the episcopal " authority, and of their sublime and divine power " in governing of the church. Nor can we remain "Christians any longer, if it is come to this, that " we should be afraid of the threats and snares of " the wicked----

"—— The adversary of Christ, and enemy of his church, for this end strikes at the bishop or ruler of the church with all his malice, that the governor being taken away, he might ravage the

raret fraternitas universa, nemo adversus sacerdotum collegium quicquam moveret—vigore pleno episcopos agere oportet. Quod si ita res est, ut nequissimorum timeatur audacia, et quod mali vere atque æquitate non possunt, temeritate et desperatione perficiant; actum est de episcopatus vigore, et de ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimi ac divina potestate. Nec Christiani ultra aut durare aut esse jam possumus, si ad hoc ventum est, ut perditorum minas atque insidias pertimescamus—

— Christi adversarius ut ecclesiæ ejus inimicus, ad hoc ecclesiæ præpositum sua infestatione persequitur, ut gubernatore sublato, atrocius atque violentius circa ecclesiæ naufragia grassetur.— "more violently and cruelly upon the shipwreck of the church"—

"Is honour then given to God, when the divine "majesty and censure is so despised, that these sa"crilegious persons say, Do not think of the wrath
"of God, be not afraid of his judgment, do not
"knock at the door of the church; but without any
"repentance or confession of their crime, despising
"the authority of their bishops, and trampling it
"under their feet, a false peace is preached to be
"had from the presbyters," (viz.) in their taking
upon them to admit those that were fallen into communion, or the peace of the church, without the allowance of the bishop.

" They imitate the coming of antichrist now ap" proaching."

Ep. LXXX. Successio. "n Valerian (the emperor) "wrote to the senate, that the bishops and the pres"byters and the deacons should be prosecuted."

Firmilianus Cypriano. Ep. LXXV. p. 225. "The power of remitting sins was given to the apostles, and to the bishops, who have succeeded them by a vicarious ordination."

Ep. xvi. p. 36. Cyprianus Presbyteris et Dia-

¹ Honor ergo dâtur Deo quando sic Dei majestas et censura contemnitur—ut proponatur a sacrilegis atque dicatur, Ne ira cogitetur Dei, ne timeatur judicium Domini, ne pulsetur ad ecclesiam Christi; sed sublata pœnitentia, nec ulla exomologesi criminis facta, despectis episcopis atque calcatis, pax a presbyteris verbis fallacibus prædicetur?

m Antichristi jam propinquantis adventum imitantur.

ⁿ Rescripsisse Valerianum ad senatum, ut episcopi, et presbyteri, et diaconi in continenti animadvertantur.

Potestas ergo peccatorum remittendorum apostolis data est
 —et episcopis qui eis ordinatione vicaria successerunt.

conibus. "P What danger ought we to fear from the "displeasure of God, when some presbyters, neither "mindful of the gospel, nor of their own station in "the church, neither regarding the future judg-"ment of God, nor the bishop who is set over them, "which was never done under our predecessors, "with the contempt and neglect of their bishop, do "arrogate all unto themselves? I could bear with "the contempt of our episcopal authority, but there "is now no room left for dissembling," &c.

A.D. 365. Optatus Milevitanus, bishop of Mileve, or Mela, in Numidia in Africa.

L. 2. Contra Parmenianum. "9 The church has "her several members, bishops, presbyters, deacons, "and the company of the faithful."

"You found in the church deacons, presbyters, bishops; you have made them laymen; acknow"ledge that you have subverted souls."

A. D. 370. St. Ambrose bishop of Milan, upon Eph. iv. 11, speaking of the several orders of the church, And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets, and evangelists, &c. says, "That by the apo-

P Quod enim periculum metuere non debemus de offensa Domini, quando aliqui de presbyteris, nec evangelii, nec loci sui memores, sed neque futurum Domini judicium, neque sibi præpositum episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino, sub antecessoribus factum est, cum contumelia et contemptu præpositi totum sibi vendicent? Contumeliam episcopatus nostri dissimulare et ferre possum—sed dissimulandi nunc locus non est.

^q Certa membra sua habet ecclesia, episcopos, presbyteros, diaconos, et turbam fidelium.

Invenistis diaconos, presbyteros, episcopos; fecistis laicos; agnoscite vos animas evertisse.

[†] Quosdam dedit apostolos, quosdam prophetas, &c. Apostoli, episcopi sunt: propheta explanatores sunt scripturarum sicut

"stles there were meant the bishops; by prophets, "the expounders of the scriptures; and by the evan"gelists, the deacons. But says, that they all met
"in the bishop; for that he was the chief priest,
"that is," says he, "the prince of the priests, and
both prophet and evangelist, to supply all the offices of the church for the ministry of the faith"ful"

And upon 1 Cor. xii. 28, says, "5 That Christ con-"stituted the apostles head in the church; and that "these are the bishops."

And upon ver. 29, Are all apostles? i. e. all are not apostles. "'t This is true," says he, "because in "the church there is but one bishop.

"And because all things are from one God the "Father, therefore hath he appointed that one bi"shop should preside over each church."

In his book of the Dignity of the Priesthood, c. 3, he says, "" That there is nothing in this world to "be found more excellent than the priests, nothing "more sublime than the bishops."

And, speaking of what was incumbent upon the several orders of the church, he does plainly distinguish them; for, says he in the same place,

Agabus——Évangelistæ diaconi sunt, sicut fuit Philippus—— Nam in episcopo omnes ordines sunt, quia princeps sacerdos est, hoc est, princeps est sacerdotum, et propheta, et evangelista, et cætera ad implenda officia ecclesiæ in ministerio fidelium.

- ⁵ Caput in ecclesia apostolos posuit—ipsi sunt episcopi.
- ^t Verum est, quia in ecclesia unus episcopus est.

Quia ab uno Deo patre sunt omnia, singulos episcopos singulis ecclesiis præesse decrevit.

u Ut ostenderemus nihil esse in hoc seculo excellentius sacerdotibus, nihil sublimius episcopis reperiri. "WGod does require one thing from a bishop, another from a presbyter, another from a deacon, another from a layman."

St. Jerom, A. D. 380, in his Comment upon the Ep. to Titus. "x When it began to be said, *I am of "Paul, I of Apollos*, &c. and every one thought "that those whom he baptized belonged to himself, "and not to Christ; it was decreed through the "whole earth, that one chosen from among the pres-"byters should be set over the rest, that the seeds "of schism might be taken away."

In his Epist. to Evangelus, "From Mark the evangelist to Heraclas and Dionysius the bishops, the presbyters of Alexandria have always chosen out one from among themselves, whom having placed in an higher degree than the rest, they called their bishop."

- " He that is advanced, is advanced from less to "greater."
 - " The greatness of riches, or the humility of po-
- w Aliud est enim quod ab episcopo requirit Deus, et aliud quod a presbytero, et aliud quod a diacono, et aliud quod a laico.
- * Postquam unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat suos putabat esse, non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ut schismatum semina tollerentur.
- y Alexandriæ, a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum in excelsiori gradu collocatum episcopum nominabant.

Qui provehitur, de minori ad majus provehitur.

Potentia divitiarum, et paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem episcopum non facit. Cæterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt.

Ut sciamus traditiones apostolicas sumptas de Veteri Testamento: quod Aaron et filii ejus atque Levitæ in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi episcopi, presbyteri, et diaconi vendicent in ecclesia. "verty, does not make a bishop greater or less, seeing all of them are the successors of the apostles,

"That we may know the apostolical economy to be taken from the pattern of the Old Testament, "the same that Aaron, and his sons, and the Lewittes were in the temple, the bishops, presbyters,

" and deacons are in the church of Christ."

Ad Nepotianum. "2 Be subject to your bishop "or chief priest, and receive him as the father of "your soul."

Advers. Luciferianos. "a The safety of the "church depends upon the dignity of the high "priest, to whom unless a sort of absolute and emi"nent power be given above all, there will be as "many schisms in the church as there are priests.
"Thence it is, that without the command of the "bishop, neither a presbyter nor a deacon have "power to baptize——And the bishop is to impose "his hands upon those who are baptized by pres"byters or deacons, for the invocation of the Holy "Spirit."

And comforting Heliodorus, a bishop, upon the death of Nepotian his presbyter and his nephew, he

² Esto subjectus pontifici tuo ; et quasi animæ parentem suscipe.

^a Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet, cui si non exors quædam et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in ecclesia efficientur schismata quot sacerdotes. Inde venit, ut sine episcopi jussione neque presbyter neque diaconus jus habeant baptizandi——Ad eos qui per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati sunt, episcopus ad invocationem Sancti Spiritus manum impositurus excurrat.

Epitaphium Nepotiani ad Heliodorum;—In publico episcopum, domi patrem noverat, inter presbyteros et co-æquales primus in opere, &c.

commends Nepotian in that he reverenced his bishop. "He honoured Heliodorus in public as his bishop, at home as his father; but among his "presbyters and co-equals he was the first in his "vocation," &c.

Upon the sixtieth of Isaiah, he calls the future bishops, "b princes of the church."

In script. Ecclesiast. de Jacobo. " c James, after " the passion of our Lord, was immediately by the " apostles ordained bishop of Jerusalem." The like he tells of the first bishops of other places.

Ep.liv. ad Marcellam, contra Montanum. "dWith" us the bishops hold the place of the apostles."

A. D. 420, St. Augustine bishop of Hippo in Africa, Epist. XLII. "The root of the Christian so- ciety is diffused throughout the world, in a sure propagation, by the seats of the apostles, and the succession of the bishops."

Quæst. Veter. et Novi Test. §. 97. "f There is "none but knows that our Saviour did constitute bishops in the churches; for before he ascended "into heaven he laid his hands upon the apostles,

"and ordained them bishops."

^b Principes futuros ecclesiæ episcopos nominavit.

^c Jacobus post passionem Domini statim ab apostolis Hierosolymorum episcopus est ordinatus.

Lib. VII. c. 43. "g The sentence of our Lord Je-

d Apud nos apostolorum locum episcopi tenent.

c Radix Christianæ societatis per sedes apostolorum et successiones episcoporum certa per orbem propagatione diffunditur.

f Nemo ignorat episcopos Salvatorem ecclesiis instituisse: ipse enim priusquam in cœlos ascenderet, imponens manum apostolis, ordinavit eos episcopos.

s Quod dixit Clarus a Mascula in concilio Carthag. repetit August. de Baptismo contra Donatist.: Manifesta est sententia Do-

"sus Christ is clear, who sent his apostles, and gave to them alone that power which he had received from his father; to whom we have succeeded, governing the church of God by the same
power."

Ep. CLXII, speaking of the bishops being called angels, Rev. ii, he says, "h By the voice of God the "governor of the church is praised, under the name " of an angel."

De Verbis Domini, Serm. 24. "If he said to the "apostles alone, He that despiseth you, despiseth "me, then despise us: but if those words of his "come down even unto us, and that he has called "us, and constituted us in their place, see that you "do not despise us."

Contra Faust. lib. XXXIII. cap. ult. " $^{\rm k}$ We em"brace the holy scripture, which from the times of
"the presence of Christ himself, by the disposition of

"the apostles, and the successions of other bishops

"from their seats, even to these times, has come down to us, safely kept, commended and honoured

" through the whole earth."

Contra Literas Petiliani, lib. 11. c. 51. "1 What

mini nostri Jesu Christi apostolos suos mittentis, et ipsis solis potestatem a patre sibi datam permittentis; quibus nos successimus, eadem potestate ecclesiam Domini gubernantes.

h Divina voce sub nomine angeli laudatur præpositus ecclesiæ.

¹ Si solis apostolis dixit, Qui vos spernit, me spernit, spernite nos si autem sermo ejus pervenit ad nos, et vocavit nos, et in eorum loco constituit nos, videte ne spernatis nos.

k Scripturam amplectimur, quæ ab ipsius præsentiæ Christi temporibus per dispensationes apostolorum, et cæteras ab eorum sedibus successiones episcoporum, usque ad hæc tempora toto orbe terrarum custodita, commendata, clarificata pervenit.

1 Cathedra tibi quid fecit ecclesiæ Romanæ in qua Petrus sedit,

" has the chair of the church of Rome done to thee, " in which Peter sat, and in which at this day Ana-" stasius sits; or of the church of Jerusalem, in

"which James did sit, and in which John does "now sit?"

Contra Julianum, lib. II. cap. ult. "m Irenæus, "Cyprian, Reticius, Olympius, Hilary, Gregory, "Basil, Ambrose, John,—these were bishops, "grave, learned," &c.

Quæst. ex Vet. Test. qu. 35. "n The king bears "the image of God, as the bishop of Christ. There"fore while he is in that station he is to be ho"noured, if not for himself, yet for his order."

Let this suffice as to the testimonies of particular fathers of the church, though many more may be produced in that compass of time to which I have confined our present inquiry. And now (that no conviction might be wanting) I will set down some of the canons of the councils in those times, to the same purpose; whereby it will appear that episcopacy, as distinct from and superior to presbytery, was not only the judgment of the first glorious saints and martyrs of Christ, but the current doctrine and government of the church, both Greek and Latin, in those early ages of Christianity.

In the canons of the apostles, the distinction of

et in qua hodie Anastasius sedet; aut ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ in qua Jacobus sedit, et in qua hodie Johannes sedet? [$Vid.\ contra\ Crescon.\ lib.\ II.\ cap.\ 37.$]

^m Irenæus, Cyprianus, Reticius, Olympius, Hilarius, Gregorius, Basilius, Ambrosius, Joannes, isti erant episcopi docti, graves, &c.

ⁿ Dei enim imaginem habet rex, sicut et episcopus Christi. Quamdiu ergo in ea traditione est, honorandus est, si non propter se, vel propter ordinem. bishop, presbyter, and deacon is so frequent, that it is almost in vain to give citations. The first and second canon shew the difference to be observed in the ordaining of them.

" o Let a bishop be consecrated by two or three " bishops."

" P Let a presbyter and deacon be ordained by " one bishop."

See the same distinction of these orders, can. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18, 25, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 36, 42, 44, 45, 51, 52, 53, 63, 68, 69, 70, 83. Can, 15 shews the jurisdiction of the bishops over the presbyters and deacons.

" q If any presbyter or deacon, or any of the cle-" rical order, shall leave his own parish, and go to " another, without the bishop's leave, he shall offi-

"ciate no longer, especially if he obey not the bi-"shop, when he exhorts him to return, persisting

" in his insolence and disorderly behaviour, but he

" shall be reduced there to communicate only as a

" layman."

And can. 31. "r If any presbyter, despising his

ο Ἐπίσκοπος γειροτονείσθω ύπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἡ τριῶν.

Ρ Πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ ένὸς ἐπισκόπου χειροτονείσθω, καὶ διάκονος.

⁹ Ε΄ τις πρεσβύτερος, ή διάκονος, ή όλως του καταλόγου των κληρικών. ἀπολείψας την έαυτοῦ παροικίαν, εἰς ἐτέραν ἀπέλθη, καὶ παντελῶς μεταστὰς διατρίβει εν άλλη παροικία παρά γνώμην τοῦ ίδίου επισκόπου τοῦτον κελεύομεν μηκέτι λειτουργείν, εί μάλιστα, προσκαλουμένου αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου αὐτοῦ, ἐπανελθεῖν οὐκ ὑπήκουσεν, ἐπιμένων τῆ ἀταξία, ὡς λαϊκὸς μέν τοι ἐκεῖσε κοινωνείτω.

[·] Εί τις πρεσβύτερος καταφρονήσας τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, χωρίς συναγάγη, καὶ θυσιαστήριον έτερον πήξη, μηδέν κατεγνωκώς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἐν εὐσεβεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καθαιρείσθω ώς φίλαρχος, τύραννος γάρ ἐστιν' ώσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κληρικοὶ, καὶ ὅσοι ἄν αὐτῷ προσθῶνται οἱ δὲ λαϊκοὶ ἀφοριζέ-

"own bishop, shall gather congregations apart, and "erect another altar, his bishop not being convict of wickedness or irreligion, let him be deposed as an ambitious person, for he is a tyrant; as likewise such other clergy, and as many as shall join with him; but the laymen shall be excommunicated: but let this be after the first, second, and third admonition of the bishop."

Can. 39. "5 Let the presbyters and deacons do "nothing without the consent of the bishop; for it "is he to whom the people of the Lord are committed, and from whom an account of their souls "will be required."

Can. 41. "'We ordain the bishop to have power "over the goods of the church—and to admin"ister to those who want by the hands of the "presbyters and deacons."

Can. 55. " "If any clergyman shall reproach his "bishop, let him be deposed; for thou shalt not "speak evil of the ruler of the people."

After the canons of the apostles, I produce next a great council of eighty-seven bishops, held at Carthage, in the year of Christ 256, under St. Cyprian, archbishop of that place, which is published in St.

σθωσαν. ταϊτα δὲ μετὰ μίαν καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην παράκλησιν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου γινέσθω.

8 Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηθὲν ἐπιτελείτωσαν, αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν λόγου ἀπαιτηθησόμενος.

Προστάσσομεν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτουν—καὶ τῶς δεομένοις διὰ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων ἐπιχορηγεῖσθαι.

υ Ε΄ τις κληρικὸς ὑβρίσει τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, καθαιρεῖσθω ἄρχοντα γὰρ τοῦ λαοῦ οἰκ ἐρεῖς κακῶς.

Cyprian's Works before quoted, p. 229, where he tells us,

"That besides the bishops, there met there both presbyters and deacons, and great numbers of the laity."

The council of Eliberis in Spain, about the year of Christ 305, cap. 18 and 19. "*Bishops, presby-

" ters, and deacons, are named distinct:" and, c. 32,

" Presbyters and deacons are forbid to give the com-

"munion to those who had grievously offended,

" without the command of the bishop."

Can. 75. "YOf those who shall falsely accuse a bishop, presbyter, or deacon."

Can. 77. " ²It is ordained that those who are bap-" tized by a deacon, without the bishop or presbyter, " shall afterwards be confirmed by the bishop."

The council of Arles in France, about the year of Christ 309, c. 18, It is ordained, that the deacons should be subject to the presbyters. And, c. 19,

"aThat the presbyters should be subject to their bishop, and do nothing without his consent."

The council of Ancyra, A. D. 315, c. 2 and 1, having prohibited those presbyters and deacons who had, in times of persecution, offered to idols, from the execution of their office, says, "bThat notwith-

w Episcopi plurimi cum presbyteris et diaconibus, &c.

^{*} Episcopi, presbyteri, et diaconi, &c. Non est presbyterorum ant diaconorum communionem talibus præstare debere, nisi eis jusserit episcopus.

 $^{^{\}rm y}$ Si quis episcopum, presbyterum, vel diaconum falsis criminibus appetierit, &c.

z Si quis diaconus sine episcopo vel presbytero aliquos baptizaverit, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debebit.

^a Presbyteri sine conscientia episcopi nihil faciant.

b Εἰ μέντοι τινὲς τῶν ἐπισκόπων τούτοις συνίδοιεν κάματόν τινα ἢ ταπεί-

"standing the bishop may dispense with them, if

" he sees their repentance sincere; for that this

" power is lodged in the bishop."

The council of Laodicea, A. D. 321, can. 41.

"cThat no clergyman ought to travel without the consent of his bishop."

Can. 56. "dThat the presbyters ought not to go

"into the church, and sit in their stalls, till the

" bishop come, and to go in with the bishop."

The first and great council of Nice, A. D. 325, can. 16. "That if any presbyters or deacons leave "their own churches, they ought not to be received into another church: and that if any shall ordain "such in his church as belong to another, without

"the consent of his proper bishop, let such ordina-

"tion be void."

The council of Gangra, A. D. 326, can. 6. "If "any have private meetings out of the church with-"out their presbyter, let them be anothematized by "the sentence of the bishop."

Can. 7. "g If any will take or give of the fruits "offered to the church, out of the church, without

" leave of the bishop, let him be anathema."

νωσιν πραότητος, καὶ ἐθέλοιεν πλέον τι διδόναι ἢ ἀφαιρεῖν, ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν.

ο Οτι οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικὸν ἡ κληρικὸν ἄνευ κελεύσεως ἐπισκόπου ὁδεύειν.

d "Οτι οὐ δεῖ πρεσβυτέρους πρὸ τῆς εἰσόδου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσιέναι καὶ καθέζεσθαι ἐν τῷ βήματι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσιέναι.

* Πρεσβύτεροι ή διάκονοι οἱ ἀναχωρήσουσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὐδαμῶς δεκτοὶ ἀφείλουσιν εἶναι ἐν ἐτέρα ἐκκλησία. — εἰ δὲ καὶ τολμήσειέν τις ὑφαρπάσαι τὸν τῷ ἐτέρω διαφέροντα, καὶ χειροτονήσαι ἐν τῆ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησία, μὴ συγκατατιθεμένου τοῦ Ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου. — ἄκυρος ἔστω ἡ χειροτονία.

Εἴ τις παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατ' ίδιαν ἐκκλησιάζει—μὴ συνόντος τοῦ ποεσβυτέρου—κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

8 Εἴ τις καρποφορίας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἐθέλει λαμβάνειν, ἢ διδόναι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου——ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

The council of Antioch, A. D. 341, can. 3. "h If "any presbyter or deacon, leaving his own parish, "shall go to others, and refuse to return when his "own bishop shall summon him, let him be de-"posed."

Can. 4. "i If any bishop, being deposed by a "synod, or a presbyter or deacon, being deposed by his own proper bishop, shall presume to exercise his function, let no room be left them either for restoration or apology."

Can. 5. "kIf any presbyter or deacon, despising his own bishop, shall separate himself from the church, and gather a congregation of his own, and set up a different altar, and shall refuse to submit himself to his bishop, calling him the first and second time, let him be absolutely deposed."

Can. 12. "If any presbyter or deacon, being de-"posed by his own proper bishop, or a bishop by

h Ε΄ τις πρεσβύτερος ἡ διάκονος καταλεικών τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ παροικίαν εἰς ἐτέραν ἀπέλθη, εἰ μάλιστα καλοῦντι τῷ ἐπισκόπφ τῷ ἰδιφ ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν παροικίαν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ παραινοῦντι μὴ ὑπακούει—παντελῶς αὐτὸν καθαιρεῖσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας.

¹ Ε΄ τις ἐπίσκυπος ὑπὸ συνόδου καθαιρεθεὶς, ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἴδίου ἐπισκόπου, τολμήσειέν τι πρᾶξαι τῆς λειτουργίας, μηδ' ἀποκαταστάσεως μηδ' ἀπολογίας χώραν ἔχειν.

^k Ε΄ τις πρεσβύτερος ἡ διάκονος καταφρονήσας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἴδιου, ἀφόρρισε ἐαυτὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἴδιᾳ συνήγαγε, καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἔπηξε, καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον καλοῦντι ἀπειθοίη, τοῦτον καθαιρεῖσθαι παντελῶς.

Ε΄ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου καθαιρεθεὶς πρεσβύτερος ἡ καὶ διάκονος, ἡ καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ συνόδου, ὀχλῆσαι τολμήσειε τὰς βασιλικὰς ἀκοὰς, δέον ἐπὶ μείζονα ἐπισκόπων σύνοδον τρέπεσθαι, καὶ ἀνομίζει δίκαια ἔχειν προσαναφέρειν πλείσου ἐπισκόποις, καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξέτασίν τε καὶ ἐπίκρισιν ἔκ-δέχεσθαι: εἰ δὲ τούτων ὀλιγωρήσας ἐνοχλήσειεν τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τοῦτον μηθὲ μιᾶς συγγνώμης ἀξιῶσθαι, μηθὲ χώραν ἀπολογίας ἔχειν, μηθὲ ἐλπίδα μελλούσης ἀποκαταστάσεος προσδοκῷν.

" the synod, dare appeal to the king, seeing his ap-

" peal lies to a greater synod of more bishops, where

" he is to expect the examination of his cause, and

" to refer the decision to them: but if, making light

" of these, he trouble the king with it, such an one

" is worthy of no pardon, nor ought to be admitted

"to make any sort of apology, or to have hopes of "his being ever restored any more."

Can. 22. "That a bishop ought not to ordain presbyters or deacons in another bishop's diocese, without his leave."

In the council of Carthage, A. D. 348, can. 11, "the cause is put where a deacon, being accused, "shall be tried by three neighbouring bishops, a "presbyter by six, and a bishop by twelve."

The second œcumenical council of Constantinople, A. D. 381, can. 6, °ranks those with heretics, "who, "though they profess the true faith, yet run into "schism, and gather congregations apart from, and "in opposition to, our canonical bishops."

The council of Carthage, A. D. 419, can. 3, pmentions the three distinct orders of bishop, presbyter, and deacon; and compares them to the high priests, priests, and Levites.

In the same manner they are as distinctly men-

^m Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ καθιστῷν πρεσβύτερον ἢ διάκονον εἰς τόπους ἐτέρῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποκειμένους, εἰ μὴ ἄρα μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ οἰκείου τῆς χώρας ἐπισκόπου.

 $^{^{\}rm n}$ A tribus vicinis episcopis, si diaconus est, arguatur; si presbyter, a sex; si episcopus, a duodecim consacerdotibus audiatur.

[•] ΑΙρετικούς δὲ λέγομεν τούς τε πάλαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποκηρυχθέντας—πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τοὺς τῆν πίστιν μὲν τὴν ὑγιῆ προσποιουμένους ὁμολογεῖν, ἀποσχιθέντας δὲ καὶ ἀντισυνάγοντας τοῖς κανονικοῖς ἡμῶν ἐπισκόποις.

P Τοὺς τρεῖς βαθμοὺς — φημὶ δὲ ἐπισκόπους, πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ διακόνους, ὡς πρέπει ὁσίοις ἐπισκόποις, καὶ ἱερεῦσι Θεοῦ, καὶ Λευΐταις.

tioned, can. 4, qbishop, presbyter, and deacon; and their powers distinct. For,

Can. 6. It is declared not to be lawful for presbyters to consecrate churches, or reconcile penitents; but if any be in great danger, and desirous to be reconciled in the absence of the bishop,

"The presbyter ought to consult the bishop, and "receive his orders in it;" as it is declared in the 7th can.

Can. 10. "SIf any presbyter, being puffed up with pride, shall make a schism against his own proper bishop, let him be anathema."

Can. 11. gives leave to a presbyter, who is condemned by his bishop, to appeal to the neighbouring bishops; but if, without this, he flies off, and makes a schism from his bishop, it confirms the anathema upon him.

Can. 12. orders what is before recited out of can. 11. of the council of Carthage, "'That a bishop " who is accused shall be tried by twelve bishops, if " more may not be had; a presbyter by six bishops, " with his own bishop; and a deacon by three."

Can. 14. orders, "uThat in Tripoli, because of "the smaller number of bishops in those parts, a "presbyter shall be judged by five bishops, and a "deacon by three, his own proper bishop presiding."

^q Ἐπίσκοπος, πρεσβύτερος, καὶ διάκονος.

τ 'Οφείλει εἰκότως ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐρωτῆσαι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον.

^{8 `}Εάν τις πρεσβύτερος κατά τοῦ ίδίου ἐπισκόπου φυσιωθεὶς σχίσμα ποιήση, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

Έπίσκοπος ύπὸ δώδεκα ἐπισκόπων ἀκουσθῆς καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ ἐξ
 ἐπισκόπων καὶ τοῦ ἰδίους ὁ διάκονος ὑπὸ τριῶν.

[&]quot; ΄Ο πρεσβύτερος ἐκεῖσε ὑπὸ πέντε ἀκούηται ἐπισκόπων, καὶ διάκονος ὑπὸ τριῶν, τοῦ ιδίου αὐτοῦ ἐπισκόπου προκαθημένου.

Can. 46. "That a presbyter shall not reconcile a penitent without the knowledge of the bishop, unless upon necessity, in the absence of the bishop."

Can. 59. "x That one bishop may ordain many presbyters; but that it was hard to find a presby"ter who was fit to be made a bishop."

Can. 65. "That a clergyman, being condemned by the bishops, cannot be delivered by that church to which he did belong, or by any man whatsowever."

Can. 126. "^zThat presbyters and deacons may "appeal from their own bishop to the neighbouring bishops, chosen by consent of their own bishop, and from them to the primate or provincial synod; but not to any transmarine or foreign jurisdiction,

" under pain of excommunication."

The council of Chalcedon, being the fourth general council, A. D. 451, can. 9. " ^a If any clergyman

Μ Πρεσβύτερος παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μὴ καταλλάξει μετανοοῦντα* οὐδ' ἀνάγκης συνωθούσης ἐν τῆ ἀπουσία τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.

Δύναται ὁ εἶς ἐπίσκοπος πολλοὺς χειροτονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους* πρεσβύτερος δὲ πρὸς ἐπισκοπὴν ἐπιτήδειος δυσχερῶς εὐρίσκεται.

^y Κληρικὸν τῆ τῶν ἐπισκόπων κρίσει καταδικασθέντα μὴ ἐξεῖναι τὸν αὐτὸν εἴτε παρὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἦς ὑπῆρχεν, εἴτε ἀπὸ οἰουδήποτε ἀνθρώπου διεκδικεῖσθαι ποινῆς.

² Πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ διάκονοι, ἐν αῖς ἔχωσιν αὶτίαις, ἐὰν περὶ τῆς ψήφου τοὺς ιδίους ἐπισκόπους μέμφωνται, οἱ γειτνιῶντες ἐπίσκοποι τούτων ἀκροάσωνται, καὶ τὰ μεταξὺ τούτων περατώσωσιν οἱ παρὶ αὐτῶν κατὰ συναίνσιν τῶν ιδίων αὐτῶν ἐπισκόπων προσλαμβανόμενοι ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ὰπὶ αὐτῶν ἐκκαλέσεσθαι θελήσωσιν, μὸ ἐκκαλέσωται, εὶ μὴ πρὸς τὰς τῆς ᾿Αφρικῆς συνόδους, ἡ πρὸς τὸὺς πρωτεύοντας τῶν ιδίων αὐτῶν ἐπαρχιῶν. πρὸς δὲ τὰ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης ὁ βοιλόμενος ἐκκαλεῖσθαι, ἀπὸ μηδεκὸς ἐν ᾿Αφρικῆ ὁκχθείη εἰς κοινωίαν.

^a Εί τις κληρικός πρός κληρικόν πράγμα έχοι, μὴ ἐγκαταλιμπανέτω τὸν

- " have a cause of complaint against another clergy-
- " man, let him not leave his own proper bishop, and
- "does otherwise shall be put under the canonical "censures"

Can. 13. "b That a foreign clergyman, and not "known, shall not officiate in another city, without commendatory letters from his own bishop."

Can. 18. "c If any of the clergy shall be found

" conspiring, or joining in fraternities, or contriving any thing against the bishops, they shall fall from

" their own degree."

Can. 29. "dTo reduce a bishop to the degree of "a presbyter, is sacrilege."

These authorities are so plain and full, as to prevent any application, or multiplying of further quotations, which might easily be done: for if these can be answered, so may all that can possibly be produced or framed in words.

And there is no remedy left to the Presbyterians, and other dissenters from episcopacy, but to deny all these by wholesale, to throw off all antiquity, as well the first ages of Christianity, even that wherein the apostles themselves lived and taught, as all since; and to stand upon a new foundation of their own invention.

οἰκεῖον ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ ἐπὶ κοσμικὰ δικαστήρια μὴ κατατρεχέτω——εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσοι, κανονικοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις ὑποκείσθω.

Β Ξένους κληρικούς καὶ ἀγνώστους ἐν ἐπέρᾳ πόλει, δίχα συστατικῶν γραμμάτων τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου μηδόλως μηδαμοῦ λειτουργεῖν.

^c Εἴ τινες τοίνυν κληρικοί ἢ μονάζοντες εὐρεθεῖεν ἢ συνομνύμενοι, ἢ φρατριάζωτες, ἢ κατασκευὰς τυρεύωντες ἐπισκόποις, ἢ συγκληρικοῖς, ἐκπιπτέτωσαν πάντη τοῦ οἰκείου βαθμοῦ.

d Ἐπίσκοπον εἰς πρεσβυτέρου βαθμὸν φέρειν ἱεροσυλία ἐστίν.

But this only shews the desperateness of their cause, and the impregnable bulwark of episcopacy, which (I must say it) stands upon so many, clear, and authentic evidences, as can never be overthrown but by such topics as must render Christianity itself precarious.

And if from the etymology of the words bishop and presbyter any argument can be drawn (against all the authorities produced) to prove them the same, we may by this way of reasoning prove Cyrus to be Christ, for so he is called, Isaiah xlv. I.

Or if the Presbyterians will have their moderator to be a bishop, we will not quarrel with them about a word. Let us then have a moderator, such as the bishops before described, viz. a moderator, as a standing officer, during life, to whom all the presbyters are to be obedient, as to Christ, i. e. to the moderator, as representing the person of Christ; that nothing be done in the church without him; that he be understood as the principle of unity in his church, so that they who unjustly break off from his communion are thereby in a schism; that he shew his succession by regular ordination conveyed down from the apostles: in short, that he have all that character and authority which we see to have been recognised in the bishops in the very age of the apostles, and all the succeeding ages of Christianity; and then call him moderator, superintendant, or bishop; for the contest is not about the name, but the thing.

And if we go only upon the etymology of the word, how shall we prove presbyters to be an order in the church more than bishops? As Athanasius

said to Dracontius of those who persuaded him not to accept of a bishopric:

"eWhy do they persuade you not to be a bishop, when they themselves will have presbyters?"

I will end this head with the advice of this great father to this same Dracontius.

Athanas. Epist. ad Dracont. "If the government of the churches do not please you, and that you think the office of a bishop has no reward, thereby making yourself a despiser of our Saviour, who did institute it; I beseech you surmise not any such things as these, nor do you entertain any who advise such things; for that is not worthy of Dracontius: for what things the Lord did institute by his apostles, those things remain both good and sure."

2. Having thus explained those texts of scripture which speak of episcopacy, by the concurrent sense of those who lived with the apostles, and were taught the faith from their mouths, who lived zealous confessors, and died glorious martyrs of Christ, and who succeeded the apostles in those very churches where themselves had sat bishops; and having deduced their testimonies, and of those who succeeded them down for four hundred and fifty years after Christ, (from which time there is no doubt raised against the universal reception of episcopacy,) and

Διά τι συμβουλεύουσί σοι μὴ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαί σε τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, αὐτοὶ θέλοντες ἔχειν πρεσβυτέρους;

Γ Εὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ διάταξις οἰκ ἀρέσκει σοι, οἰδὲ νομίζεις τὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτούργημα μισθὸν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονεῖν τοῦ ταῦτα διαταξαμένου συτῆρος πεποίηκας σαὐτόν παρακαλῶ, μὴ τοιαῦτα λογίζου, μηδὲ ἀνέχου τῶν ταῦτα συμβοιλευόντων οὐ γὰρ ἄξια Δρακοντίου ταῦτα ἀ γὰρ ὁ Κύριος διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλον τετύπωκε, ταῦτα καλά καὶ βέβαια μένει.

this not only from their writings apart, but by their canons and laws when assembled together in council: which one would think sufficient evidence against none at all on the other side, that is, for the succession of churches in the presbyterian form, of which no one instance can be given, so much as of any one church in the world so deduced, not only from the days of the apostles, (as is shewn for episcopacy,) but before Calvin, and those who reformed with him, about one hundred and sixty years last past: I say, though what is done is sufficient to satisfy any indifferent and unbiassed judgment, yet there is one topic yet behind, which with our dissenters weighs more than all fathers and councils, and that is the late reformation, from whence some date their very Christianity. And if even by this too episcopacy should be witnessed and approved. then is there nothing at all in the world left to the opposers of episcopacy, nothing of antiquity, precedent, or any authority, but their own wilful will against all ages of the whole catholic church, even that of the reformation, as well as all the rest.

Let us then examine: first, for the church of England; that is thrown off clearly by our dissenters, for that was reformed under episcopacy, and continues so to this day.

And as to our neighbour nation of Scotland, where the Presbyterians do boast that the reformation was made by presbyters; that is most clearly and authentically confuted by a late learned and worthy author, (already mentioned,) in his Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, printed 1695, so as to stop the mouths of the most perverse, who will not be persuaded though they are persuaded.

Go we then abroad, and see the state of the reformed churches there.

The Lutherans are all cut off, as the church of England; for they still retain episcopacy, as in Denmark, Sweden, &c.

There remains now only the Calvinists: here it is the Presbyterians set up their rest! this is their strong foundation!

And this will fail them as much as all the other; for be it known unto them, (however they will receive it,) that Calvin himself, and Beza, and the rest of the learned reformers of their part, did give their testimony for episcopacy as much as any. They counted it a most unjust reproach upon them to think that they condemned episcopacy, which they say they did not throw off, but could not have it there, in Geneva, without coming under the papal hierarchy: they highly applauded and congratulated the episcopal hierarchy of the church of England, as in their several letters to queen Elizabeth, to the archbishop of Canterbury, and others of our English bishops: they prayed heartily to God for the continuance and preservation of it; bemoaned their own unhappy circumstances, that they could not have the like, because they had no magistrate to protect them; and wished for episcopacy in their churches, the want of which they owned as a great defect; but called it their misfortune rather than their fault; as the learned of the French Hugonots have likewise pleaded on their behalf.

As for their excuse, I do not now meddle with it, for I think it was not a good one. They might have had bishops from other places, though there were none among themselves, but those who were

popish: and they might as well have had bishops as presbyters without the countenance of the civil magistrate. It might have raised a greater persecution against them; but that is nothing as to the truth of the thing: and if they thought it a truth, they ought to have suffered for it.

But whatever becomes of their excuse, here it is plain, that they gave their suffrage for episcopacy; which whoso pleases may see at large in Dr. Durel's View of the Government and Worship in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, (who was himself one of them,) printed 1662.

So that our modern Presbyterians have departed from Calvin as well as from Luther, in their abhorrence of episcopacy, from all the Christian world in all ages, and particularly from all our late reformers both of one sort and other.

Calvin would have anathematized all of them, had he lived in our times. He says there were none such to be found in his time who opposed the episcopal hierarchy, but only the papal, which aspired to an universal supremacy in the see of Rome over the whole catholic church, which is the prerogative of Christ alone. But, says he,

"g If they would give us such a hierarchy, in "which the bishops should so excel as that they did not refuse to be subject to Christ, and to depend upon him as their only head, and refer all

E Talem si nobis hierarchiam exhibeant, in qua sie emineant episcopi ut Christo subesse non recusent, et ab illo tanquam unico capite pendeant, et ad ipsum referantur, &c. Tum vero nullo non anathemate dignos fatear si qui erunt qui non eam revereantur, summaque obedientia observent. Calvin. de Necessitat. Eccles, reformand.

"to him, then I will confess that they are worthy of all anathemas, if any such shall be found who will not reverence it, and submit themselves to it with the utmost obedience."

See, he says, si qui erunt, "if there shall be any "such," which supposes that he knew none such, and that he owned none such amongst his reformers; and that if ever any such should arise, he thought there were no anathemas which they did not deserve who should refuse to submit to the episcopal hierarchy, without such an universal head as excludes Christ from being the only universal head; for if there be another, (though substitute,) he is not only. Thus he is called the chief bishop, but never the only bishop, because there are others deputed under him: but he calls no bishop the universal bishop, or head of the catholic church, because he has appointed no substitute in that supreme office; as not of universal king, so neither of universal bishop.

And Beza supposes as positively as Calvin had done, that there were none who did oppose the episcopal hierarchy without such an universal head now upon earth, or that opposed the order of episcopacy, and condemns them as madmen, if any such could be found. For thus says he,

"h If there be any (which you shall hardly per-"suade me to believe) who reject the whole order "of episcopacy, God forbid that any man in his wits "should assent to the madness of such men."

And particularly as to the church of England,

h Si qui sunt autem (quod sane mihi non facile persuaseris) qui omnem episcoporum ordinem rejiciant, absit ut quisquam satis sanæ mentis furoribus illorum assentiatur. Beza, ad Tractat, de Minist, Ev, Grad, ab Hadrian. Sarav. Belga editam, c. 1.

and her hierarchy of archbishops and bishops, he says that he never meant to oppugn any thing of that, but calls it a "i singular blessing of God, and "wishes that she may ever enjoy it."

So that our modern Presbyterians are disarmed of the precedent of Calvin, Beza, and all the reformers abroad, by whose sentence they are anathematized, and counted as madmen.

Here then let us consider and beware of the fatal progress of error! Calvin, and the reformers with him, set up presbyterian government, as they pretended by necessity, but still kept up and professed the highest regard to the episcopal character and authority: but those who pretend to follow their example, have utterly abdicated the whole order of episcopacy as antichristian, and an insupportable grievance; while at the same time they would seem to pay the greatest reverence to these reformers, and much more to the authority of the first and purest ages of Christianity, whose fathers and councils spoke all the high things before quoted in behalf of episcopacy far beyond the language of our later apologists for that hierarchy, or what durst now be repeated, except from such unquestionable authority.

In this they imitate the hardness of the Jews, who built the sepulchres of those prophets whom their fathers slew, while at the same time they adhered to and outdid the wickedness of their fathers in persecuting the successors of those prophets.

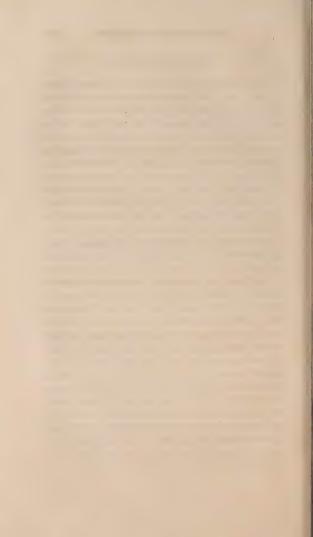
 $^{^{\}rm i}$ Fruatur sane ista singulari Dei beneficentia, quæ utinam sit illi perpetua. $\it Ibid.~c.~18.$

ADVERTISEMENT.

WHEREAS I have placed the apostolical canons in the front of the councils before quoted, I thought fit (to prevent needless cavil) to give this Advertisement, that I do not contend they were made by the apostles themselves, but by the holy fathers of the church, about the end of the second and beginning of the third century, as a summary of that discipline which had been transmitted to them by uninterrupted tradition from the apostles, whence they have justly obtained the name of the apostolical canons; and, as such, have been received and reverenced in the succeeding ages of Christianity.

The councils quoted after these canons bear their proper dates, and there can be no contest about them

And what is quoted of St. Ignatius and the other fathers is from the most uncontroverted parts of their works, to obviate the objection of interpolations and additions, by the noise of which our adversaries endeavour to throw off or enervate their whole authority, and quite to disarm us of all that light which we have from the primitive ages of the church, because it makes all against them. Though they fail not to quote the fathers on their side whensoever they can screw them to give the least seeming countenance to their novelties and errors, yet boldly reject them all when brought in evidence against them, and that they can no otherwise struggle from under the weight of their authority.



PRIMITIVE HERESY REVIVED,

IN THE

FAITH AND PRACTICE

Of the People called

QUAKERS:

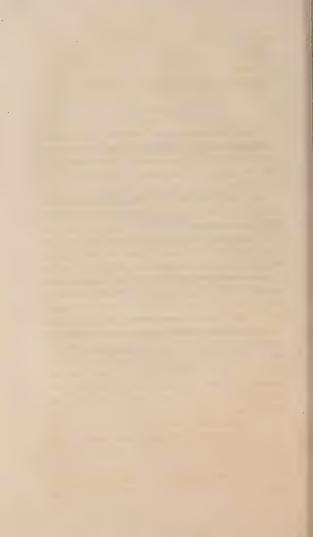
Wherein is shewn, in seven Particulars, that the principal and most characteristic Errors of the Quakers were broached and condemned in the Days of the Apostles, and the first one hundred and fifty Years after Christ.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A FRIENDLY EXPOSTULATION WITH W. PENN,

Upon account of his PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY,

LATELY PUBLISHED.



PRIMITIVE HERESY REVIVED, &c.

IN an advertisement to my Discourse of Baptism I promised something upon this subject, in hopes that the Quakers, seeing the original of their errors, may bethink themselves, and return from whence they have fallen.

And particularly as to baptism, that I might confirm my expositions of the holy scriptures with the concurrent testimony of the holy fathers, who were cotemporaries with the apostles, and learned the faith from their mouths, and those who immediately followed them to 150 years after Christ. Though we have very little remaining of the writings of the fathers in that early age; yet I would descend no lower, (where I might have had clouds of witnesses,) to avoid a groundless cavil, which the Quakers have learned from our elder dissenters, to run down the primitive church by wholesale, because it was so full of bishops, and, in all the pretences of their schism, went so directly contrary to them. But the fathers of the first age, that next to the apostles, and of which the apostles were a part, though as much bishops, and as much against them as those following; yet for decency sake they pretend to reverence, lest in throwing them off they should seem to throw off the apostles with them, from whom they could not be parted.

And because, even in this first uncontroverted age, we have proofs sufficient, I would avoid needless

disputes, and argue from topics that are allowed on all hands.

The greatest part of the following Discourse was wrote at the time with the Discourse of Baptism, and intended to have been annexed to it; but being prevented at that time, it has since been neglected: till I was stirred up afresh by a book lately published. (though said to be printed in 1696.) entitled, Primitive Christianity revived in the Faith and Practice of the People called Quakers. This came directly to my subject; therefore I have examined it throughly, and leave the reader to judge whether the primitive Christianity or heresy does belong most to them; at least, whether it did before the late representations of Quakerism, which have given it quite another turn and face than it ever had before: such a turn, as has left nothing on their side whereby to justify their schism. And therefore we hope that their conversion is nigh, or if already converted, their full reconciliation to the church; that the present Quakers, chiefly the valuable Mr. Penn, may have the honour and the happiness to heal up that breach, which now for forty-eight years has so miserably torn and divided this once most Christian and renowned church of England.

In this following Discourse I will not take up the reader's time to prove the several positions which I name upon the Quakers, only briefly recite them, and refer to the places in the Snake in the Grass, and Satan Disrobed, where they are proved at large; and to repeat them here would swell this to an unreasonable bulk: and this being intended in the nature of a supplement to these, it would be needless. The proper business of this, is to compare the

Quaker heresies with those of the first one hundred and fifty years of Christianity.

And now to our task. The seven particulars wherein the Quakers have, if not copied after, at least jumped with the condemned heretics before mentioned.

I. The first is, as to their denial of the incarnation of Christ. They confess that Christ, or the Word, took flesh, that is, that he assumed or dwelt in an human body, i. e. the body of that man Jesus; who was therefore called Christ, because that Christ, or the Word, dwelt in him. And for the same reason they take the name of Christ to themselves, and say that it belongs to every one of the members as well as unto the head, i. e. as well as to that man Jesus, who was principally and chiefly called the Christ, because that Christ dwelt in him, or did inspire him in a greater measure than other men: but they utterly deny that the man Jesus was properly the Son of God. In a large sense every Christian may be called a son of God; and so, and no otherwise, they allow Jesus to be the Son of God. But that he "was properly the Son of God "we utterly deny-" says their Serious Apology, p. 146, which was printed 1671. See this proved at large in the Snake in the Grass, sect. x. vol. iv.

Now I proceed to shew that this heresy was broached and condemned in the days of the apostles. This is it which St. John reprehends, 1 John iv. 3, Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, &c. or as Socrates, (Hist. Eccl. lib. VII. c. 32,) tells us it was wrote in the ancient copies, "Every spirit which separateth Jesus from "God is not of God." And he observes that this

text, and other parts of this Epistle, were altered by those who would separate the divinity of Christ from his humanity: though, as it now stands in our copies, it means the same thing; for he that denies Christ to have been made flesh, only says that he took it upon him for a cloak or a veil, as angels assume bodies when they appear in them; he denies Christ's coming in the flesh so as to become truly and really a man; he takes away the humanity of Christ, and so separates Jesus from God: which, in the sense of this text, is to deny his coming in the flesh. St. Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippians, n. 7, disputes against these antichrists in the words of his master St. John, whose disciple he was; Πᾶς γὰρ, says he, ος αν μη ομολογή Ἰησοῦν Χριστον έν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστι, i. e. "Whoever does " not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh. " is an antichrist."

II. The second point is the Quakers' denial of the truth and reality of the death and sufferings of Christ. This is consequential to the former heresy; for if Christ took not the body of Jesus into his own person, but only dwelt in the body of another man, as he dwells in his saints; if Christ and Jesus are two persons; if the body of Jesus was only a veil or garment for Christ to shroud himself in, as the Quakers speak; then, though Jesus suffered, yet Christ could not; and the sufferings of Christ were but in appearance and show, as if a man's cloak or garment only were crucified.

What are then those sufferings of Christ which the Quakers do own as meritorious in the sight of God for the atonement of our sins? Why, an allegorical suffering, death, and shedding the blood of their light within, which they call *Christ*; of which Jesus, or the outward Christ, they say, was but a type; and that his sufferings were only an historical transaction of the greater mystery of the sufferings and atonement performed by their light within, as I have fully shewn in the Snake in the Grass, sect. x, p. 133, vol. iv, and Satan Disrobed, sect. I, n. 12, vol. v.

But now I am to shew that the Devil had broached these heresies against the truth of the incarnation of Christ, and consequently against the reality of his death and sufferings within the first one hundred and fifty years after Christ; and that they were then condemned by the holy fathers of the church.

Ignatius, that glorious martyr of Christ, bishop of Antioch, who flourished about the year 70 after the birth of Christ, and was disciple to St. John the evangelist, writes thus in his Epistle to the Magnesians, instructing their faith in what sort of sufferings of Christ we were to believe and trust, not these inward in our hearts, but to distinguish most effectually from these, those that he suffered under Pontius Pilate: "a I would have you preserved, "that you fall not into the snare of vain doctrine; but that ye may abound and be filled with the knowledge of the birth, passion, and resurrection, (in the time of the government of Pontius Pilate,) which truly and firmly happened to Jesus Christ

³ Θέλω προφυλάσσεσθαι έμᾶς, μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὰ ἄγκιστρα τῆς κενοδοξίας, ἀλλὰ πεπληροφορείσθαι ἐν τῆ γενήσει, καὶ τῷ πάθει, καὶ τῷ ἀναστάσει τῆ γενομένη ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ποντίου Πιλάτου, πραχθέντα ἀληθῶς καὶ βεβαίως ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν ἢς ἐκτραπῆναι μηθενὶ ὑμῶν γένοιτο.

" our hope, from which let none of you be turned " away."

"b Stop your ears therefore," (says he in his Epistle to the Trallians,) "when any shall speak to you "without Jesus Christ."

What Christ was this? The outward man Jesus, or the light within? That Jesus, "c who was of the "stock of David, who was of Mary, who was truly born, did both eat and drink, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died, and who truly rose from the dead, his "Father raising of him; and his Father will, after the like fashion, raise us up in Jesus Christ, who believe in him, without whom we cannot truly "live."

"d But some atheists, that is, infidels, do say, that he only appeared to be a man, but took not a body in reality, and in appearance only seemed to suffer and die." &c.

And in the beginning of his Epistle to the Smyrnæans, after having described that Christ, who is the object of our faith in the fullest manner, to obviate the deceit of applying it to an inward Christ, by calling him the Son of David, born of the Virgin, and baptized of John, truly crucified under Pontius Pilate, and Herod the Tetrarch; none of which

Κωφώθητε οἶν, ὅταν ὑμῖν χωρὶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λαλῆ τις.

^C Τοῦ ἐκ γένους Δαβίδ, τοῦ ἐκ Μαρίας, δς ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη, ἔφαγέν τε καὶ ἔπιεν, ἀληθῶς ἐδιαχθη ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ἀληθῶς ἐσταυράθη, καὶ ἀπ-ἐθανεν—ός καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐγέρθη ἀπὸ νεκρῶν, ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα, ὡς καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ οἴτως ἐγερεῖ ὁ Πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐγ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ' οὕ χωρὶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν οἰκ ἔχορεκ.

⁴ Εί δὲ ἄσπερ τινὲς ἄθεοι ὅντες, τουτέστι ἄπιστοι, λέγουσι, τῷ δοκήσει γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον, οἰκ ἀληθῶς ἀνειληφέναι σῶμα, καὶ τῷ δοκεῖν τεθνηκέναι, πεπονθέναι οἰ τῶ ὅντι, &c.

can be applied to the light within. He adds that we can only be saved by the faith in this outward Jesus; "c By the fruits of whose divinely blessed passion we are saved——For he suffered all these things for us, that we might be saved."

And to obviate the two heretical pretences of making the meritorious suffering of Christ to be his suffering within us; and that his outward sufferings were not real, but in appearance only, as not being really a man, but only residing in that man Jesus as in a veil or garment: Ignatius adds in the next words: "f And he truly suffered, and truly raised " himself; not as some unbelievers say, that he only "appeared to suffer, they but appearing to exist; " and as they believe, so shall it be unto them when "they come to be out of the body, and in the state " of spirits:" that is, they shall justly forfeit the true and real benefits purchased for true believers by the death of Christ, since they will have it to be only in appearance or false show; and take the merit from the outward death of Christ which he suffered upon the cross, and place it in a fancied suffering of the light within them.

And as he asserts the faith in Christ's outward death, so does he in his resurrection; not the inward rising of Christ in our hearts, but in his outward resurrection; that which was proved by their handling of him, and feeling of his flesh, and his eating and drinking with them, after his resurrection.

 ^{&#}x27;Αφ' οὖ καρποῦ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεομακαρίου αὐτοῦ πάθους—Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ἔπαθεν δι' ἡμᾶς ἵνα σωθῶμεν.

¹ Καὶ ὰληθῶς ἔπαθεν, ὡς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστησεν ἐαυτὸν, οἰχ ὥσπερ ἄπισστοί τινες λέγουσιν τὸ δοκεῖν ἀντὸν πεπουθέναι, αὐτοὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ὅντες, καὶ καθῶς φρονοῦσιν καὶ συμβήσεται αὐτοῖς, οὖσιν ἀσωμάτοις, καὶ δαιμονικοῖς.

But in the next paragraph he has a prophetic exhortation, which looks terribly upon the Quakers among others. He tells the Smyrnæans, that he gives them these admonitions, not that he thinks them guilty of these heresies. "§ But I guard you "beforehand," says he, "against beasts in human "shape, whom you ought not only not to receive, "but if it be possible, not so much as to meet with "them; only to pray for them, if they may at last "repent, which will be difficult."

And again, says he, speaking of our Lord Jesus Christ, "h whom some not knowing do deny, or "rather are denied by him, being the preachers" of death, rather than of truth."

"i They abstain from the eucharist, (that is, the "sacrament of the Lord's supper,) and from the "prayers (of the church), because they do not confess that the eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and "which the Father in his goodness raised up: but "these speaking against this gift of God die in their "inquiries."

And vain and death must those inquiries be, which, leaving the gifts of God, the sacraments of his own institution, and to which his promises are

⁵ Προφυλάσσω δε ύμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἀνθρωπομόρφων, οδις οὐ μόνων δεῖ ὑμᾶς μὴ παραδέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰ δυνατόν ἐστι μηδὲ συναντῷν, μόνων δὲ προσεύχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἐἀν πως μετανοήσωσιν, ὅπερ δύσκολον.

h "Ον τινες άγνος εντες άρνοινται, μάλλον δε ήρνήθησαν ύπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅντες συνήγοροι τοῦ θανάτου, μάλλον ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας.

¹ Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχής ἀπέχρυται, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμαῦν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθοῦσαν, ῆν τῆ χρηστότητι ὁ πατὴρ ἔγειρεν οῦ οὖν ἀντιλέγοντες τῆ δωρεὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ συζητοῦντες ἀποθυήσκουσι.

annexed, seek for salvation in ways and means of their own devising.

But it was unavoidable, that they who had left the body of Christ, as a forsaken veil or garment, to rot for ever in the grave, or are careless what is come of it, as a thing now of no virtue or consequence to us, should reject the sacrament of it, which is a continual exhibition of its virtues and efficacy to us; or that they who hope for no resurrection of their bodies out of the dust should continue the use of those sacraments which were ordained as signs and pledges of it.

But if it please God that they ever return to the faith, it is to be hoped that they will then reassume these guards and confirmations, which are the outward vehicles and assurance of it.

III. The third point is their denial of the resurrection and future judgment. For the proof of this upon the Quakers, I refer to the Snake in the Grass, sect. XII. p. 157, vol. iv. and to Satan Disrobed, sect. III. p. 418, and the Gleanings, sect. VI. p. 499.

Now we find full proof that this heresy was broached in the days of the apostles, and by them condemned, as is plain from 1 Cor. xv. 12, &c. and 2 Tim. ii. 18, in which last text the very Quaker salvo is expressly set down, by which they have betrayed themselves into this fatal heresy, viz. saying that the resurrection is past already, that is, performed inwardly to those who follow the light, (see Satan Disrobed, Gleanings, p. 499, vol. iv.) and Mr. Penn understands that full and elegant description of the resurrection, 1 Cor. xv, all of this inward and allegorical resurrection; for in his book, entitled, The Invalidity of John Faldo's Vindication,

&c. printed 1673, repeating ver. 44 of this chapter, viz. It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body, he says, p. 369, "I do utterly deny that "this text is concerned in the resurrection of man's "carnal body at all." And, p. 370, "I say this "doth not concern the resurrection of carnal bodies, but the two states of men under the first and se-"cond Adam:" and though, as he objects, the 47th and 49th verses seem to imply a bodily resurrection; but," says he, "let the whole verse be considered, "and we shall find no such thing."

To the arguments of the apostles against this heresy, let me add some testimonies of others their cotemporary fathers, or rather explain the texts of the apostles by their comments, who learned this article of the faith from their mouths. The texts above quoted were wrote by St. Paul, who (Phil. iv. 3.) mentions Clement as his fellow-labourer, and whose name is in the book of life: and he was as likely to know St. Paul's meaning as Mr. Penn, whom I desire to read his Second Epistle to the Corinthians, where, δ. 9, he will find these words.

"k Let none of you say, that this same flesh is "not judged, nor shall rise again. Understand, in "what have ye been saved; was it not while ye were in this flesh? Therefore it behoveth us to "keep our flesh, as the temple of God. For as ye "have been called in the flesh, so shall ye come in

Καὶ μὴ λεγέτω τις ὑμῶν ὅτι αὕτη ἡ σάρξ οὐ κρίνεται οὐδὲ ἀνίσταται. Γνῶτε ἐν τίνι ἐσώθητε, ἐν τίνι ἀνεβλέψατε, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῆ σαρκὶ ταύτη ὅντες. Δεῖ οῦν ἡμᾶς ὡς ναὺν Θεοῦ ψυλάσσειν τὴν σάρκα. ὁν τρόπον γὰρ ἐν τῆ σαρκὶ ἐκλήθητε, καὶ ἐν τῆ σαρκὶ ἐκλόψοτε, κοὶ οῦ τος ὁ κύριος ὁ σώσας ἡμᾶς, ὄν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον πνεῦμα, ἐγένετο σάρξ, καὶ οῦτος ἡμᾶς ἐκάλεσεν' οδτας καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν ταύτη τῆ σαρκὶ ἀποληψόμεθα τον μισθόν.

"the flesh. Jesus Christ the Lord, who saveth us, "was first a spirit, and then made flesh, and so he called us. So shall we receive our reward in this "very flesh."

St. Polycarp, bishop and martyr, who flourished about the year of Christ 70, and was disciple to St. John the evangelist, in his Epistle to the Philippians, §. 7, says, that "¹whoever does not confess "the martyrdom or suffering of Christ upon the "cross, is of the Devil: and he that will wrest the "oracles of Christ to his own lusts, and say that "there is no resurrection nor judgment to come, he "is the first-born of Satan."

And Hegesippus, who lived near to the days of the apostles, in his fifth book, as quoted by Eusebius, (Hist. Eccl. lib. II. c. 23.) speaking of these ancient heretics, says, that " ^m they did not believe " either the resurrection or the coming of Christ to " render to every one according to his works."

IV. The fourth point is their abstaining from the sacraments and prayers of the church. And for this I have before quoted Ignatius to the Smyrnæans, where he tells of those who "abstained from the "prayers of the church, and the Lord's supper, be-"cause they did not believe it to be the flesh of "Christ which suffered for our sins, and was raised "up," &c. For how could they who (as the Quakers) made no more of the flesh of Christ than a garment or a veil, but no part of his person, and con-

¹ Καὶ δς ἄν μὴ ὁμολογῆ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστὶ, καὶ δς ἄν μεθοδεύη τὰ λόγια τοῦ Χριστοῦ πρὸς τὰς ιδίας ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ λέγη μήτε ἀνάστασιν, μήτε κρίσιν εἶναι, οὖτος πρωτότοκός ἐστι τοῦ Σατανᾶ.

m Αί δὲ αἰρέσεις προειρημέναι οὐκ ἐπίστευον οὕτε ἀνάστασιν, οὕτε ἐρχόμενον ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστφ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

sequently could never call the bodily garment Christ; and thought their own flesh and blood to be the flesh and blood of Christ, as well as the flesh and blood of that man Jesus, in whom they say that Christ or the light dwelt, as in themselves, (see Satan Disrobed, sect. II. n. 2, 3, and the Gleanings, p. 461, &c. vol. iv.) and placed the meritorious cause of our redemption and justification, not in the blood of Christ outwardly shed, but in the allegorical or inward blood of their light within, inwardly and invisibly shed, &c.: I say, how could these endure a sacrament so contrary to their belief? For the bread cannot be called the flesh of their light within; but it was of his outward flesh that Christ spake, when he said, This is my body; and his outward blood was said to be shed for the remission of sins.

And the eucharist was such a visible representation of this, as could not but shock these enthusiastic heretics

And where the sacraments are practised, such mad enthusiasm cannot take place. And we see by woful experience, that where these guards of the truth and importance of Christ's outward sufferings are taken away, men fall from the true faith in them.

But the Quakers have not only thrown off the use and practice of the sacraments, and left them as things indifferent, or lawful to be practised by such as may be conscientiously concerned for them, but damn them as carnal, and doctrines of devils. G. Fox, in his News out of the North, printed 1655, p. 14, makes them the like witchcraft as turned the Galatians to circumcision. "And their sacrament," says he, "as they call it, is carnal—and their com-

"munion is carnal, a little bread and wine—which is its the table of devils, and cup of devils, which is in the generation of serpents in this great city "Sodom and Gomorrah, so dust is the serpent's "meat," &c. And, p. 39, "You say that Matthew, "Mark, Luke, and John is the gospel, which is car-"nal—You say that sprinkling infants is the bap-"tism which baptizeth them into the faith, and so into the church, which is carnal. And you tell people of a sacrament, and bringing them to eat a little bread and wine, and say that this is a communion of saints, which is carnal; and all this feeds the carnal mind," &c. And he blasphemously says in his title-page that all this was "written from the mouth of the Lord."

Edward Burroughs, p. 190 of his Works, printed 1672, says, "Their doctrines are of the Devil, who—" say sprinkling infants with water—is baptism into "the faith of Christ; this is the doctrine of the "Devil." And, p. 191, "These have filled the world "with damnable heresies, as holding forth, that "sprinkling infants with water is baptism into the faith of Christ," &c. "These are damnable heresies, even to the denying the Lord that bought "them." And, p. 644, "That it is not lawful for "the saints of God to join themselves to your ordinances."

This hideous blasphemy and outrage against the divine institutions of our Lord, I hope, will appear to be such to the well-disposed among the Quakers, who will be at the pains to read my Discourse of Water-Baptism. It seems to have had some effects already, even with George Whitehead himself. For in his Answer to the Snake (whereto he adds a chap-

ter upon that Discourse of Baptism) he seems to come off from that former rigour of the Quakers, and says, p. 114, "That as for those who are more "conscientiously tender in the observation thereof, "we are," says he, "the more tender to these, so as "not to censure or condemn them merely for practising that which they believe is their duty, either "in breaking of bread or water-baptism."

So that by this he yields the practice of the sacraments to be at least lawful, contrary to Burroughs, Fox, and the primitive Quakers: for if it were not lawful, I suppose he would not have that tenderness for the observation thereof, but would censure and condemn it as those others have done. I pray God perfect his conversion, and let him see the necessity as well as lawfulness of it. And I would desire him to consider, that if it be lawful, it must be necessary: for if Christ has not commanded water-baptism, it cannot be less than superstition to practise that as a sacrament, and consequently as a means of grace, which he has not commanded. Even the church of Rome does not pretend to a power to institute a sacrament: that can be done by none but God alone. Therefore, if water-baptism was not instituted by Christ, it cannot be lawful to practise it: and if he did institute it, it is not only lawful, but necessary, and a duty. Now, in aid of George Whitehead, and by way of an antidote against the venom of G. Fox, Burroughs, and other sour Quakers, and to pursue the design of this present paper, I will, to the authorities of holy scripture, which I have produced in the Discourse of Baptism, add in this place, as a sure comment and explanation of them, the testimonies of some of those fathers whose works we have extant within the compass of years proposed, that is, 150 years after Christ, in witness to this divine institution of water-baptism, and to shew what stress they laid upon it.

St. Ignatius, who was (as before mentioned) bred under St. John the beloved disciple, makes our baptism, not only the badge, but the arms and defence, of our faith, and the quitting of it to be a deserting of Christ.

"n Let no one of you," says he, in his Epistle to St. Polycarp, "be found a deserter, but let your bap-"tism remain as your armour."

And St. Barnabas, who was St. Paul's fellow-traveller, mentioned so often in the Acts, speaking in his Catholic Epistle, chap. 11, concerning water and the cross, says, that "oit is written concerning water "to the people of Israel, that they should not re-"ceive that baptism which was sufficient to the par-"don of sins," which they did not under the Mosaical dispensation. But they instituted a baptism to themselves, whereby to admit men as proselytes to the law: but that was not the baptism which could take away sin; no, nor the baptism of John; that was the peculiar only of the Christian baptism.

A little after, St. Barnabas says, that God had joined the cross (that is, the faith in Christ crucified) and the water (that is, baptism) together, viz. the inward faith, and the outward profession and seal of it.

η Μή τις ύμῶν δεσέρτωρ εύρεθῆ, τὸ βάπτισμα ὑμῶν μενέτω ὡς ὅπλα.

[•] Περὶ μὲν τοῦ ὕδατος γέγραπται ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραἢλ, πῶς τὸ βάπτισμα, τὸ φέρον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν, οὐ μὴ προσδέξωνται ἀλλὶ ἐαυτοῖς οἰκοδομήσουσι.

"P Consider," says he, "how he (God) has appointed the cross and the water to the same end.

For thus he saith, Blessed are they who, hoping
in the cross, have gone down into the water."

And again, pursuing the same argument, he magnifies the great efficacy and power of baptism, when duly received, a few lines after what is above quoted, saying:

"q For we go down into the water full of sins "and filthiness, and come up again bearing fruit in "our hearts by the fear and hope which is in Jesus, "which we have in the Spirit."

After the same manner, and in the like words, speaks St. Hermas, (whom St. Paul salutes, Rom. xvi. 14,) in that only remaining work of his, called, The Shepherd of St. Hermas: there, in the third book, and ninth similitude, he speaks thus:

"r Before a man receives the name of the Son of "God, he is designed unto death; but when he re"ceives that seal, he is delivered from death, and
"given up to life. Now that seal is water, into
"which men go down, liable to death, but come up
"again, assigned over unto life."

I have taken this out of the ancient Latin translation, according to the Oxford edition, 1685. For

P Αλσθάνεσθε πῶς τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἄρισε. τοῦτο
γὰρ λέγει μακάριοι οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐλπίσαντες, κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ.

⁹ Ἡμεῖς μὲν καταβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ ιδωρ γέμοντες ἀμαρτιῶν καὶ ῥύπου, καὶ ἀναβαίνομεν καρποφορῶντες ἐν τῆ καρδία, διὰ τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα εἰς τὸν Ἡπροῦν ἔγρυτες ἐν τῷ πνεύματ..

r Antequam enim accipiat homo nomen Filii Dei, morti destinatus est: at ubi accipit illud sigillum, liberatur a morte, et traditur vitæ. Illud autem sigillum aqua est, in quam descendunt homines morti obligati, ascendunt vero vitæ assignati.

the Greek was in a great part lost, and came not down to us entire, as this old Latin version did.

St. Clement, in his Second Epistle to the Corinthians, paragr. 8, calls baptism by the same name of our seal, and applies to it that text, Isa. lxvi. 24, which he renders thus: "5 They that have not kept," their seal, their worm shall not die," &c.; or, as he expresses it in paragr. 6, "t Unless we keep our baptism pure and undefiled, with what assurance can we enter the kingdom of God?"

V. The fifth point is their forbidding to marry, and preaching up fornication. I charge not all the Quakers with this; no, nor the greatest number of them; only those called new Quakers in America, of whom, and this their principle and practice, an account is given in the Snake in the Grass, sect. VI. parag. 11, p. 87, vol. iv. But the Quakers are thus far answerable, that all this wild extravagance is a natural consequence of their common principle and notion of the light within, as such an absolute rule and judge that is not to be controlled by scripture, or any law or rule whatsoever; which leaves every man in such an unlimited latitude, that there is no restraint to whatever the wildest imagination (so it be strong enough) can suggest; nor any cure, (upon their foundation,) but to bid him follow it still on. Listen to that within you: that is all their advice, and all their rule.

But besides, I would fain know what answer the old Quakers can give to the new ones upon their

^{*} Τῶν γὰρ μὴ τηρησάντων τὴν σφραγίδα, ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει, &c.

^{&#}x27; Ήμεῖς ἐὰν μὴ τηρήσωμεν τὸ βάπτισμα άγνὸν καὶ ἀμίαντον, ποία πεποιθήσει εἰσελευσόμεθα εἰς τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ Θεοῦ ;

principle; for the new threw off their wives, because they found it written, that the children of the resurrection neither marry, nor are given in marriage. Now, as shewn in the Snake, vol. iv. sect. XII, and before spoke to, the Quakers' general notion is, that the resurrection is spiritual, and that every regenerate man has obtained it already: and some of the chief and oldest of them have declared that they expect no other than what they have obtained already, or at least shall attain, before they leave this body. See Satan Disrobed, vol. iv, p. 499. of the Gleanings.

Now let me ask the old Quakers: are they the children of the resurrection? They must answer yea, or go against their own avowed principles: and if yea, then the text is plain against their marrying.

Let me ask again: are they the children of this world? They will all say nay, for that is the common epithet by which they describe the wicked; and is a term that they put in opposition to the children of light, which they bestow upon themselves. Now it is written, that the children of this world marry: therefore, say the new Quakers, marriage is a wicked thing, and consequently of the Devil: and the old Quakers have not yet answered their arguments that I can hear of. And the new Quakers do vouch themselves to be the only true and genuine Quakers, who follow their principles up to the height. Nor do they want antiquity in all this. The Gnostic Quakers, who boasted in their light bevond all other men, and called themselves (as the Quakers do) the purest and most perfect of Christians, held these same principles, and practised them in the very days of the apostles; and they are reprehended, and our later heretics, who should follow their steps, prophesied of, 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3.

VI. The sixth point is, their contempt of magistracy and government. This is shewn as to the Quakers in the Snake, vol. iv. sect. XVIII. George Fox, in his Great Mystery, printed 1659, p. 76, says, "The power of God-strikes down government of "men and governors." And p. 90, "And so," says he, " for the Lord's sake the saints cannot be sub-" ject to that power." And he argues, (though very falsely.) that "the Jews of old time could not obey "the heathen magistrates-Nor the apostles could " not bow to the authority of the Jews-nor that " among the Gentiles held up by the magistrates." I say all this is most false; for the Jews did obey the heathen magistrates, and the apostles both the Jews and Gentiles, and that not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake. But it shewed what Fox meant, viz. that the saints are not under the dominion of the world's rulers, whom they think to have no other authority than that of the Devil. Accordingly Fox says, (ibid.) " For it was the Beast's " power hath set up your tithes, temples, and col-"leges." This will include all the governments upon the earth: for there is none but have some of these; hardly any but have them all. And then down go all, if the Quakers prevail.

But to come to our point. This wicked heresy was born into the world in the days of the apostles, and set up by the then Quakers, that the receiving of Christianity did exempt men from the service of unbelievers, whether masters or magistrates; which occasioned the many repeated exhortations in the Epistles, especially of the apostle of the Gentiles, to

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be subject both to masters and magistrates, though unbelievers. And there were those Jews in our Saviour's time, who upon the same account thought it not lawful to give tribute to Cæsar, being then an heathen. They thought that the Jews were not to submit to the dominion of the heathen; and Judas of Galilee, mentioned in Acts v. 37, drew away much people after him, upon the same pretence of not paving taxes to the Romans: Josephus (de Bell. Jud. lib. II. cap. 7.) says, he taught that no tribute should be paid to the Romans. But he went further, (a thorough Quaker,) for he would have had all magistrates taken away, and God only to be king. I suppose (as the Quakers) he would have been content that the government should have come into his own hand, and to some saints under him, as deputies from God. Such he made his Gaulonites, or Galilæans, who followed him: for the meaning of those who find fault with the government of others, is commonly to seize upon it for themselves, (and they seldom mend the matter.) though their pretence is always to set up the kingdom of God and his saints.

Such Gaulonites, or Galilæans, are the Quakers, who in a declaration to the distracted nation of England, (printed 1659, penned by Edw. Burroughs, and subscribed by fifteen of the chief of the Quakers in the name of all the rest,) p. 8, do proclaim that they have chosen a king, (viz. their own light within, which they call the Son of God,) and that "it is "his only right to rule in nations, and their heir-"ship (as being only his faithful subjects) to possess "the uttermost parts of the earth;" and that "he may command thousands and ten thousands of

" (these) his saints at this day to fight——" mark that, to fight even with the carnal sword, to regain their right. But in the reprinting of Burroughs's Works, 1672, it was thought convenient to leave out this passage, p. 603 of his Works,) though it was said to be given forth by the Spirit of God, and in his name. It is set down more at large in the Snake, vol. iv. p. 211.

The same universal monarchy and heirship of the Quakers is asserted by Samuel Fisher, in a Collection that he printed of several messages which he said he had by commission from God, to deliver to the then protector and government, 1656, the last of which bears this title: The Burden of the Message of the Lord itself: there, p. 32, speaking of the Quakers and their king, says, "He in them, and "they in him, shall rule the nations with a rod of "iron, and break them to pieces as a potter's vessel-"And every tongue that riseth up in judgment "against them shall they condemn." And, p. 33, he brings in God, saying, "Yea, I will never rest till I " have made all their foes their footstool: and how-" beit the powers of the earth are of me-I will " utterly subvert and overturn them, and bring the "kingdoms and dominions, and the greatness of the "kingdom under the whole heaven into the hands " of the holy ones of the Most High, and give unto " my Son and his saints to reign over all the earth, " and to take all the rule and the authority, and " power, that shall stand up against my Son in his " saints." There is the mystery couched in the last words, "in his saints," that is, the light within (which they call Christ) in the Quakers, and to

which they ascribe all that is said of Christ in the scriptures.

Edw. Burroughs, writing from Dublin in Ireland to the Quakers in England in the year 1655, directs thus, "To the camp of the Lord in England." This is p. 64 of his Works; and he was then for their beginning of their war to conquer the whole earth. He exhorts them, p. 67, in their conquests to be very severe and bloody, to spare none: "Give the " great whore," says he, that is, Rome, "double into "her bosom; as she hath loved blood, so give her " blood, and dash her children against the stones." This was for all the popish countries, and those who partook of their abominations, which in their account were all the protestants too, whom they in contempt called professors, and all sects in those nations, whom Burroughs includes in his Epistle to the Reader, p. 1, and declares war against them. But were the heathens then to escape? No, their conquest and empire was to be universal, their heirship did extend to the uttermost parts of the earth: for thus he goes on, (ut supra;) " Let none of the hea-"then nations, nor their gods, escape out of your " hands-but lav waste the fenced cities, and tread "down the high walls, for we have proclaimed open " war betwixt Michael our prince and the dragon-"And cursed be every one that riseth not up to the "help of the Lord against the mighty. Put on "your armour, and gird on your sword, and lay " hold of the spear, and march into the field, and " prepare yourselves to the battle; for the nations "doth defy our God, and saith in their hearts, who " is the God of the Quakers, that we should fear

" him and obey his voice?-Our enemies are whole "nations, and multitudes in number, of a rebellious " people that will not come under our law; (a great "fault indeed!) stand upon your feet, and appear in " your terror as an army with banners, and let the " nations know your power, and the stroke of your " hand: cut down on the right hand, and slav on "the left; and let not your eye pity nor your hand "spare," &c. And in his Trumpet of the Lord sounded, which he calls, An Alarum and Preparation for War against all Nations where Gog and Magog resideth, printed 1656, p. 32, he says to the Quakers, "Your despised government shall rule "over kingdoms, and your laws shall all the nations " of the earth become subject unto." And p. 41, he expostulates with God, "When wilt thou appear, to "lay their honour in the dust of confusion? thy " host and chosen waiteth for a commission from thee " to do thy will: and thy camp waiteth to see the " honour of kings and princes overthrown by thee," &c. But it seems the Quakers would make use of the swords of the wicked, till their own were ready: therefore in the year 1659, they had great hopes in the rebel English army; who having destroyed the king and the church in these kingdoms, Burroughs halloos them (in his Epist. to them, p. 537.) upon Italy and Spain, and all the popish countries: "for " what are these few poor islands," says he, " that " you have run through, in comparison of the great " part of Christendom in which idolatry-do "abound-wherefore hew down the tops, strike "at the branches, make way that the axe may be " laid to the root of the tree, that your sword and "the sword of the Lord may neither leave root nor LESLIE, VOL. VII.

"branch of idolatry—to avenge the blood of the guiltless through all the dominions of the pope; "the blood of the just it cries through Italy and "Spain—and it would be your honour to be "made use of by the Lord in any degree in order "to this matter." They were to be made use of in some degree to clear the way for the Quakers, who were at last to have all. Now whether these have not outstript their forerunner Judas, and his Galilæans, I leave the reader to judge; and proceed to the next

VII. The seventh and last point which I intend to speak of is now come, and is so near of kin to the last, that I shall despatch it quickly. It is their stiffness, in not taking off their hats, or giving men their civil titles. There needs no proof of this, as to the Quakers; for they all own it, it is their discriminating character.

And now to find a precedent for them in antiquity, the same Judas Galilæus is ready at hand. Josephus tells, (Antiq. Jud. lib. XVIII. cap. 2,) that he was the head of a fourth sect among the Jews, which he himself (like George Fox) founded: and that as he acknowledged but one Lord and Master, that is, God; so, as a consequence of this, he would pay honour to none other; and so obstinate were his sect in this, that, as Josephus tells in the chapter last quoted, "they would rather expose themselves, " their children, and relations, to the most cruel tor-" ments, than call any mortal man lord or master." So that George Fox has not the honour of this noble invention, as he would make us believe in his Journal, p. 24, where he says, "When the Lord sent me " forth into the world, he forbade me put off my hat "to any——And I was required to thee and thou "all men and women." He would call none lord or master more than Judas: and their inspirations came from the same author, the spirit of pride, under the guise of humility; so that in his, and all the other instances before mentioned, George Fox is deprived of the glory of being an original, and to be "no man's copy," as is boasted of him in the preface to his Journal, p. 31. I do not suppose that he knew a tittle of these ancient precedents, only good wits jumped; and so exactly, as shews that they were all taught by the same master.

THE CONCLUSION.

- 1. What application now needs to be made, from all that has been said, to the Quakers? The thing shews itself: let them not call it malice and envy, and what not, to oppose them; we oppose the primitive heresies in them; we cannot but oppose them, unless we would condemn the apostles and primitive fathers, who have condemned them. I charitably believe that the Quakers, at least the generality of them, do not know, nor, may be, have heard of these ancient heresies, or that they have so literally licked them up. But now they do know, let them consider, and see how they have put darkness for light, and light for darkness!
- 2. But if the Quakers say, as of late they have begun to do, that they are misrepresented, that they do not hold these vile heresies and errors charged against them, nor ever did hold them; let the reader judge of that by the quotations which are produced out of their most approved authors in the Snake and Satan Disrobed; of all which G. Whitehead, in

what is called his Answer, does not deny one, but pleads *Not guilty*, without offering to disprove the evidence brought against them. However, that is not my business now; I am willing they should come off as easily as they can, provided they do come off, and mean not this to deceive us.

3. Let it then be supposed, that the modern representations they have given of the notion of the light within, and of other their doctrines, (since the oppositions they have lately met with.) are the true and genuine sense of what they held from the beginning; and, when truly explained and understood, the same, and no more than what the church of England and all sober Christians have always held.

If so, then they must begin again to give a new account of their separation, and so violent a separation as they have made, not only from the church of England, but all the churches in the world, as Edw. Burroughs, p. 416 of his Works: "And so " all you churches and sects, by what name soever "you are known in the world, you are the seed of "the great whore." And p. 17 of his Epistle to the Reader, he tells him, "Thou may'st fully perceive " we differ in doctrine and principles; and the one "thou must justify, and the other thou must con-"demn, as being one clean contrary to the other in "our principles." And, p. 1, he says, "We have " sufficient cause to cry against them, and to deny "their ministry, their church, their worship, and "their whole religion." What shall we do now? Now we agree in nothing! our whole religion is condemned; and there is no compounding; we must condemn the one, and justify the other. Here is foul play on some side! By some modern accounts, it is hard to distinguish wherein the doctrines of the church of England and those of the Quakers do differ; particularly in their fundamental principle of the light within, on which all the rest do depend, as it is explained by Mr. Penn, in his late Primitive Christianity, and in the Snake, vol. iv. sect. I. and sect. XXII. Except the particular hereafter excepted, they are the same; and Mr. Penn asks no more (upon the main) than what is not only allowed, but practised, and always has been, and that daily, in common prayers by the church of England, ves, and by our dissenters too; so that now we are very good friends again! and the difference betwixt us, upon this point, is no ways sufficient to justify any separation; and so of the other points of doctrine as of late explained. And for the sacraments, G. Whitehead allows them to be lawful, and let such practise them as so think fit. Then there is no ground for their separation from us for our practice of what themselves allow to be lawful. And for episcopacy, that is a matter of government, not of worship, so that we might join in worship for all that. And the bishops exercise no other power than what is used amongst the Quakers, to disown those who will not walk according to the rules of the society. And their power herein is much curbed by the laws, and appeals lie from their sentence to the secular courts, which are not allowed in the Quaker discipline.

Now, to bring this matter to an issue in a friendly manner, without ripping up or confronting former testimonies, it is desired that Mr. Penn, or any other for him, would shew such differences betwixt his explanation of the light within, and that in the Snake,

as are so material as to justify a separation; and so of the other points treated of in his Primitive Christianity.

And herein let him and them consider the grievousness of the sin of schism, even as enforced by them against their own separatists; it is a tearing of the body of Christ in pieces, and turning the heaven of Christianity into a hell of confusion. Let us act herein manfully; for we fight for our own souls, the union and joy of Christendom, the honour of religion, and the glory of God, who knows our hearts, and will reward our sincerity. He, through whose holy inspiration only we think those things that be rightful, prevent us in all our doings with his most gracious favour, further us with his continual help, and pardon all our infirmities, in the prosecution of these glorious ends, through Jesus Christ our Lord; who for these same ends died, rose, ascended, and will come again in that same body to reward and to judge every man according to what he has been useful or prejudicial to these ends: to whom with the Father and the eternal Spirit be all power, honour, and glory from all creatures, converted sinners especially, now and for ever. Amen.

A friendly Expostulation with Mr. Penn, upon account of his Primitive Christianity, lately published.

1. I HAVE said before how near Mr. Penn has brought the Quaker principles (as he has of late represented them) to the doctrine of the church of England, and the common principles of Christianity: but I would desire to expostulate a little with him upon one part of his exposition of the light within, p. 29, where he is not satisfied with what we allow,

viz. that it does influence and assist our natural light; but he will not grant that we have any natural light at all, or any other than that divine light of the Word, which is God: which, he says, " some " mistakenly call natural light:" as G. Fox says in his Great Mystery, p. 42, where he opposes this tenet, " that no man by that native light inherent " in him had power to believe," &c. G. F. answers, "The light that doth enlighten every man, (which " is their description of the light within,) he calls it " native and inherent: the names he gives of native " and inherent, are his own out of the truth." Here he denies any natural light, and will have none other but the divine light within. But to go on with Mr. Penn, he says, p. 30 and 31, that the scripture makes no distinction between natural and spiritual light, and provokes any to give so much as one text to that purpose; he makes it as absurd as to talk of a natural and spiritual darkness within. He says, "There are not two lights from God in " man that regard religion;" not that reproves or condemns a man for sin.

But how then does he answer the objection which he puts against himself, of the many false religions in the world? It was not the true light which guided men into them. And if they have no other light, how came they by them? He says it was because they did not follow the true light. But why did they not follow it? how could they help following of it, if they had nothing else to follow? what was it that resisted it? or what could resist it, if we have no natural light or understanding to refuse its dictates? But suppose our no light or understanding could shut its eyes, and not follow this light,

then it might lose the true religion; but could no understanding invent another religion? for that is something positive, and something must guide and direct men to it. The absence of light is darkness. not a false light; but an ignis fatuus, or Will i'th' Wisp, is a light that leads men wrong. Men that are in error follow a light, but it is a false light, and they think themselves to be in the right. Our understandings have a natural, which is a fallible light, and therefore often leads us wrong. What else is the meaning of Prov. iii. 5, Trust in the Lord with all thine heart; and lean not unto thine own understanding? It is true, that understanding and the natural light of it was given us by God, and he made it right and true, but fallible, else it could never be mistaken. God has placed a natural light as a candle in our hearts, and his supernatural light does influence and direct it, when we seek to him for it, and serve him according as he has commanded. Solomon says, Prov. xx. 27, The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord, searching all the inward parts. You will not call the spirit of man the Eternal Light, which is God. This was the mistake which drove George Fox to make our soul a part of God, without beginning, and infinite in itself, &c. as shewn in the Snake, vol. iv. sect. II. and to make us even equal with God, as shewn sect. III. And Mr. Penn, p. 15. of this book, (Primitive Christianity,) allows no natural light to the understanding; "for," says he, "man can no more be " a light to his mind, than he is to his body;" and thence infers, that as the eye has no light in itself, so neither the understanding: he makes our nature and minds wholly dark of themselves, only susceptible of supernatural light when sent into our understanding: and that all the light we have is thus supernatural; and only called natural, because, as he says, "it is natural to man to have a super-" natural light." I will not take advantage of the philosophy of this; for I suppose his meaning to be, that it is natural to the understanding to receive a light that is infused into it, as for the eye to see by an extraneous light; that is, it is an organ fitted to receive light, though it has none in itself; as the understanding to apprehend, though it has no reason or light in itself. Thus he expresses it, p. 50: "All men have reason," says he, "but all men are "not reasonable;" which must be taken with the same grains of allowance: for every man is a reasonable creature, that is the definition of a man. But according to his hypothesis, though all men have reason, yet not natural, but supernaturally put into their understanding; and so, though they have reason, yet are they not reasonable, because that reason is none of their own, only as gifted; that is, accidental, but not natural to them; and so they can no more be called rational, than a bag can be called rich that has money in it. For, he says, p. 15, that "God is the light of our nature, of our minds, and " understandings." If it were meant as an assistant, guide, or director, to the light of our understanding, there were no difference betwixt us; but quite to put out the natural light of our understandings, and make it but only passive, that is, susceptible of another light, that is the point on which I would reason now with Mr. Penn. It is said, 1 Cor. i. 21, that the world by wisdom knew not God. What wisdom was this? It could not be a divine light;

and if man have no natural light, it must be the Quaker third sort of light, that is, no light at all. But if by wisdom here you mean men's natural light. or reason, the text is plain and easy.

It is written, 1 John iii. 20, If our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things. Now by heart here must be meant the natural light; because, if it means the light which is God, God is not greater than himself. And it is supposed here that the heart does not know all things; therefore this must be meant of our natural conscience, and not of God. And now here is a natural light, which does reprove of evil, which Mr. Penn supposes cannot be shewn, p. 30. Our Saviour says, Luke xii. 57, Yea, and why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right? But why of yourselves. if we have no light at all of ourselves whereby to judge?

I find a great light of the Quakers, Edw. Burroughs, owning these two lights within, in his Warning to Underbarrow, 1654, p. 16 and 17 of his Works, reprinted 1672, where, speaking of some of the world's people, "whose light," says he, "is only " natural and carnal, and doth only make manifest " carnal transgressions, and who judge by the na-"tural light," &c. This being objected by John Stalham, in his Reviler Rebuked, p. 282, as a contradiction to what other Quakers had said of the light, Richard Hubberthorn (a Quaker of the first rank) undertakes the defence of Burroughs, which you find in his Works, reprinted 1663, p. 144, where he says that Burroughs was misrepresented, in that Stalham would have had him say that the light of Christ was natural and carnal, which he says Burroughs did not mean; but "the light of man," says he, "by which carnal men do judge of carnal trans"gressions, is natural——And man's light, by which
"carnal men do judge of any thing, is one thing;
"and the light of Jesus Christ, which is spiritual
"men's guide, is another thing." Here are two lights within most plainly, which Mr. Penn does so positively oppose.

But which of these lights guided Mr. Penn, and which Hubberthorn and Burroughs? for it could not be the same light that guided to two lights, and not to two.

And now it will be time to ask from Mr. Penn a solution of the difficulty which he proposes p. 29; that is, "to assign us some certain medium, or way, " whereby we may truly discern and distinguish be-"tween the manifestations and reproofs of the na-"tural light within, from those of the divine light " within." He proposed this as a difficulty upon the opinion of two lights within, a natural and a divine; and presses it against those who held that the natural light could reprove of evil: if which were granted, he would yield that there must be two lights; but he supposes that nothing but the divine light could reprove of evil. The contrary of which has been shewn from 1 John iii. 20, and allowed both by Burroughs and Hubberthorn, who both (in the places above quoted) do assert that the natural light does reprove of carnal transgressions; and therefore, if carnal transgressions be evil, the natural light does reprove of evil.

But that which I would improve from this, and for which I have been so long upon it, is, to represent to Mr. Penn the consequence of this opinion of

his. For if I think that my understanding is a perfect blank, uncapable to judge any thing of itself, that is, by the natural light which God has given it: but that every thought of my heart concerning religion is supernatural, darted in there immediately by God himself, by the very life of the Word eternal; then must I follow every such thought, even without examination, and refuse to let it be overruled, either by the written word of the scriptures. or by all the reason or authority of men or angels. And if such thought be erroneous, I am unmoveable and irrecoverable. This is the most desperate condition of which man is capable in this world: therefore this stumblingblock must be removed, before we can proceed any further. And this is that which keeps the Quakers so deaf to all arguments, charm we never so wisely.

It was this which confirmed Gilpin, Toldervy, Milner, and other Quakers, that their diabolical possessions, (owned now as such by all the Quakers,) and the Quaker witches who attempted the lives of Henry Winder and his wife; (see the story in the Snake, p. 294, vol. iv.;) and though disproved, confuted, and confounded many ways in all their accusations against them, yet still to stick to it, and could never be brought to repentance, or to own themselves mistaken. Why? Because they had this notion, "that what came into their minds was the "light of Christ."

And so it must be, if there be no other light in the mind but that of Christ, except we allow of a diabolical; and then there are three sorts, natural, divine, and diabolical.

Unless you will say, that a false light (as the dia-

bolical is) ought not to be reckoned a light. But that will not do; because what guides, or directs, or persuades, that is called a light; and you may as well say that a false guide is no guide, as that a false light is no light. Thus it is that Satan transforms himself into an angel of light; and, as our Saviour has forewarned us, that the light in some men is darkness; not that light is darkness, but what men take for light; and that is a light or guide to them, though a false one. And then how shall we know the one from the other? That is a material question which you have asked, and which now returns upon you.

What is that spirit of the prophets that is subject to the prophets? Is it the divine light within? Is God subject to the prophets? Must you not then allow a natural light? Cease from thine own wisdom, Prov. xxiii. 4. Can there be wisdom without light? Wisdom is light. Must I then cease from the divine light? or is there not another? And how shall I know mine own light from the divine light?

We are commanded not to believe every spirit, but to try the spirits, I John iv. 1. How shall we try them? by themselves! Must I try the spirit or light in my heart by itself? ask it whether it be a true light or not? It says it is. So do all deceivers say; so does every false spirit say; then I must not take its word, but I must try it. And I ask again, how try it? Therefore it must be by something else than itself. And what is that? Now we are near the truth; for, Mr. Penn, the case stands thus:

God has given a natural light to our understanding, but a fallible one; therefore it needs help, and our own endeavours. The principal help is the in-

fluence and light of the Holy Spirit of God, which works together with our light, and enables it to work. Besides this, God has given us a rule to walk by, plain directions in writing, which we may study, and have always before us; that is, the holy scriptures: and his light will open, that is, help our understanding in the reading and studying of the scriptures; but that implies we must read and study, we must use our endeavours, else he cannot help our endeavours: we must not lie in the ditch, and cry, God help us! use no outward helps which God has appointed, but fold our arms, and sit still and gape for extraordinary inspirations, which is a tempting of God, instead of waiting upon him.

Then God has appointed other helps besides the scriptures, he has constituted a church, and an order of men to teach us, to help us to understand the scriptures, and to administer the sacraments to us which Christ has commanded, and promised the assistance of his holy Spirit to those who shall reverently, as he has appointed, approach unto them.

We have likewise the helps of histories and human learning, to know former times, to observe the rise and growth of heresies, and to beware, lest we fall into the like snares of the Devil.

But if we will neglect all these helps; nay, vilify and despise them, cry out upon them as low, carnal, and what not, and direct God to work miracles for us, while we refuse to work; to send such an irresistible and infallible light into our hearts, as may, without any pains on our side, secure us absolutely; then there is an end on't! If we will thus alter our own frame, and the whole method of God's dispensations, it is but just with God to give us up to

follow our own imaginations, and let us feel the effect of our folly.

But now, on the other hand, if we will be content to follow God in his way, to acknowledge what we feel and know, that we have a free-will within us, and an understanding, which has natural powers to judge, and discern, and consider, and will use the helps God has given us; then, and not till then, are we in a capacity to be reasoned with, to judge and try our own spirits, and other men's, by the plain rule of God's holy word; and if we find they speak not according to that, then to reject them: then may we expect the assistance of God's blessed Spirit to inform our understandings, and lead us into all truths necessary for us.

For, whatever the Quakers think, the church of England has always acknowledged the influences and inward operations of the blessed Spirit of God upon our hearts, as the cause of all the good that is wrought in us; which is sufficiently shewn in the Snake, sect. XXII. vol. iv.

And this has been all along the doctrine of the catholic church, which I might prove at length; but that is not the point in which we are at present engaged: yet, for the satisfaction of the Quakers, who may not know this, I will set down two canons of the council of Carthage, which was held in the year of our Lord 419.

Can. 113. " 'Whoever says that the grace of God,

τ "Οστις δήποτε εἴποι τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἢ τινι δικαιοῦται διὰ Ἰιγσοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, πρὸς μόνην ἄφσειν ἀμαρτιῶν Ἰσχιέεν τῶν ἦδη πεπλημμελημένων, καὶ μὴ παρέχειν ἔτι μὴν βοήθειαν πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἔτερα πλημεμελισθαι, ἀνάθεμα εἴηὶ ὅτι ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ οὸ μόνον γνῶστν παρέχει, ὧν δεῖ πράττειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγγάπην ἔτι μὴν ἐμπνέει ημῖν, ἵνα ὁ ἐλω ἐπιγινώσκω.

" by which a man is justified through Jesus Christ " our Lord, avails only for the remission of sins that " are already past, but does not also give strength " to resist sin for the future, let him be anathema: " for the grace of God does not only give us the "knowledge of what we ought to do, but also in-" spires us with love, whereby we may be enabled " to perform those things which we know to be our "duty. Likewise, whosoever shall say that this " grace of God, which is through Jesus Christ our " Lord, does help us to avoid sin only as the know-" ledge of sin is made manifest to us by it, whereby "we know what we ought to seek after, and what " to avoid; but that strength is not given us by it, "that what we know we ought to do, we may also " love it, and be enabled to perform it, let him be " anathema."

Can. 114. "Whosoever shall say that the grace of justification was therefore given unto us, that what we could perform by our own free-will, we may do the more easily by grace; insomuch that though grace had not been given, we might, though with difficulty, perform the divine commandments

μεν, καὶ πληρῶσαι Ισχύσωμεν. ὁμοίως, ὅστις δήποτε εἴποι τὴν αὐτὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, εἰς τοῦτο μόνον ἡμῶν βοηθεῖν, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀμαρτάκευ, ὅτι διὰ ταὐτης ἡμῶν ἀποκαλύπτεται καὶ φακεροῦται ἡ γνῶσις τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ἄστε γινώσκειν ἄ δεῖ ἐπίζητεῦν καὶ ἀ δεῖ ἐκκλίνειν, οὐ μὴν δι ἀὐτῆς ἡμῶν παρέχεσθαι, ἵνα ὅπερ γνῶμεν ποιητέον, καὶ ποίῆσαι ἔτι μὴν ἀγαπήσωμεν καὶ ἰσχύσωμεν, ἀνάθεμα εἴν,

" "Οστις δήποτε είποι, διὰ τοῦτο τὴν χάριν ἡμῖν τῆς δικαιοσύνης δεδόσθαι, ἵνα ὅπερ ποιεῖν διὰ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου δυνάμεθα, εὐχερεστέρως πληρῶμεν διὰ τῆς χάριτος 'ἀσανεὶ καὶ εἰ ἡ χάρις μὴ ἐδίδοτο, οὐκ εὐχερῶς μέν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐδυνάμεθα καὶ δίχα ἐκείνης ἔτι μὴν πληρῶσαι τὰς θείας ἐντολὰς, ἀνάθεμα εἴη. περὶ γὰρ τῶν καρπῶν τῶν ἐντολῶν ὁ Κύριος οὖκ εἶπεν, Χωρὶς ἐμοῦ δυσχερῶς δύνασθε ποιεῖν' ἀλλ' εἶπεν, Χωρὶς ἐμοῦ οὐ δύνασθε ποιεῖν. " without it, let him be anathema. For concerning " the fruits of the commandments, the Lord did not

" say that without me ve shall do them with diffi-

" culty; but he said, without me ye can do nothing."

This constant doctrine of the church the Quaker infallibility did not know that she had ever held; and therefore set it up as a new discovery of their own, and broke with the church for it. And to advance divine grace, they would extinguish human reason, which is a divine grace itself, and the subject given unto us by God, whereupon his blessed Spirit should work.

And to divest us of it, is to make us cease to be men, instead of being saints.

It makes God the sole author of all our sin; for if we have no natural light, we can have no freewill; are only passive in God's hands, acted by him, but do nothing of ourselves; and therefore are not answerable for any thing that we do, more than a sword or a pen are blameworthy for whatever use is made of them.

This arraigns the wisdom of God in all the institutions and ordinances that ever he gave to men. For what need of such helps to the divine light! And Mr. Penn says we have no other. Why then does he preach? To whom doth he preach? To the divine light in men? (as G. Fox and the primitive Quakers used to speak.) Can he teach that? Cannot that guide men without his preaching? If he says that he only preaches to persuade men to follow that light; but cannot the light teach even that too? or has it forgot it? Does it need help in that? Then why not in other things? Then is it not selfsufficient without something else.

Nay, by this principle, there was no need of Christ's coming into the world, at least of his dving for us; for men had the divine light before. And what could the man Jesus add to that? Was it not sufficient without him? If not, then you want something else besides your light within: but if it was sufficient without him, then could not his coming be necessary. I desire to know what you differ herein from the Deists? they hold a divine light planted by God in the heart of man, which they call reason; and that this is sufficient, without any thing else, to teach a man all that he ought to know or do. This divine light you call the light within; so that you differ from them but in words. Both of you reject the necessity of any outward revelation, that is, of a Christ without; and so are the same with all the Pagan or Gentile world: for they too (and the latter Mahometans) allow Jesus to have been a good man, and to have had this divine light (which you call Christ) within him, as all other men have. But this does not make him properly the Son of God, which you also utterly deny him to be, as said above, p. 189. This is literally that antichristianism which is reprehended 1 John ii. 22, of denying Jesus to be the Christ: for having of the light in me does not make me to be the light: but Jesus not only had the light in him, but he was the light, or Christ; which it is blasphemy to say of any other. And yet if man have no other light in him but the divine, and that be made part of his nature, it must follow that he is God; for whoever does properly partake of the divine nature is so.

2. But now, whatever Mr. Penn thinks of my reasoning, (which by his own principle must be the

immediate dictate of the Holy Ghost, if I have no natural light which taught it me,) yet he can have no reason to break communion with us, upon this account, more than with Hubberthorn, Burroughs, or other Quakers who held the same; as James Naylor, and others I could shew, if that were worth the while. And though James Naylor was censured by the Quakers for other things, yet never for this; and he was received again into favour, and lived and died in their communion.

3. This hinders not, by Mr. Penn's own acknowledgment, they and we being all of one religion: for he says, p. 62, "I know not how properly they may be called of divers religions, that assert the true "God for the object of worship, the Lord Jesus "Christ for the only Saviour, and the light or Spirit of Christ for the great agent and means of man's "conversion and eternal felicity."

Now all this, Mr. Penn, the church of England does most sincerely and heartily believe, and ever have professed it; and therefore, if we be not of divers religions, why of divers communions?

4. Again, your exposition of justification, p. 79, that you acknowledge justification "only for the "sake of the death and sufferings of Christ; and "nothing we can do," say you, "though by the "operation of the Holy Spirit, being able to cancel "old debts, or wipe out old scores. It is the power and efficacy of that propitiatory offering, upon faith and repentance, that justifies us from the sins that are past; and it is the power of Christ's "Spirit in our hearts that purifies, and makes us "acceptable before God." All this is most sound and orthodox; and your whole ninth chapter con-

cerning the inward and spiritual appearance of Christ in the soul, I not only approve, but do very much congratulate with you, that you have so Christianly and pathetically pressed it. I know you will not suspect me of flattery; for where there is occasion, I speak plain enough. This cause requires not dodging: let us contend for the truth, on whatever side it lies; it is for our own souls, and we must give an account.

How do you keep up a schism, if you agree with us in these fundamentals of religion? Small matters, you know, are not sufficient to excuse a schism. Great things are to be done, and much to be borne, to compass such good of souls.

Therefore let me consider all your objections.

1. Chap. x. sect. 1. you insist much upon the spirituality and life of prayer. In the name of God, carry that as high as you can, you shall find no opposition from us: for without this, all prayer, in whatever words, whether extempore or premeditated, are but dead forms: and an extempore prayer is only extempore as to the speaker, if he has not thought of it before: but it is as much a form to the hearers as if he had thought of it; if they join with him, they are tied to his words and method, and every thing else of his prayer. So that the question is ill stated, to call premeditated prayer a form, and the other not: both are forms, and equally forms to the hearers. But the true state of the question is this, whether an extempore or a premeditated form is most beneficial to the hearers? Which can be freed from most defects? and which best fitted to the common exigencies of the people?

If the heart cannot be supposed to be spiritually

lifted up in the use of any form, then must all public prayer cease; then was the Lord's Prayer unfitting ever to be used, or the Psalms of David, which were daily read in the temple, and composed for that end.

But if the soul may be spiritually lifted up in the use of a form, then is it great uncharitableness to censure those who use it. And this can be no sufficient cause for a separation.

Besides that, it is impossible for any of your hearers to know whether they make use of (that is, join in) an extempore or a premeditated form; for how do they know whether the speaker has thought of it before? These are too slender causes for a separation.

But in our churches the ministers are not tied to the Common Prayer, but take the same liberty as yours, to pray according to their own conceptions before and after sermon; so that herein you may join quite free from this exception.

- 2. Your next exception, sect. II. and III, is concerning the ministry, that they who undertake it ought to be guided and influenced by the Holy Spirit. Herein you differ not from us; we assert the same: and it is demanded, in the examination of persons to be ordained, whether they are persuaded that they are moved thereto by the Holy Ghost? If men will belie their own consciences, and thrust themselves unworthily into the ministry, that is not to be objected against the constitution: and, Mr. Penn, you know that your communion has laboured under this inconvenience as well as ours. I need not go to instances; I know you will not put me to it. Therefore this is no cause for separation.
 - 3. Your sect. IV. that ministers are Christ's wit-

nesses, and applying to this I John i. 1, 3, That which we have heard, seen with our eyes, and our hands have handled, &c. seems strange; for this was spoken by St. John in relation to the person of Christ, whom they had seen, felt, &c. And such sort of witnesses, I suppose, you do not pretend to be: you pretend not to have seen our Lord in the flesh; but if you take this spiritually, (as I perceive you do.) then we witness it as much as you. And here can be no cause of separation.

- 4. Your sect. v. is against men's offering money to be made ministers. I would fain know what caution you can advise against simony that is not taken? But if you think it utterly unlawful for ministers to receive ought from the people to whom they preach, how got G. Fox so much money? And I would desire to know how you answer 1 Cor. ix. 7, 11, 14. Gal. vi. 6. Phil. iv. 14, 16. However, here can be no cause of separation.
- 5. Chap. XII. sect. 1. you say nothing against tithes, but that you will not support our ministry; and that depending upon what is said before as to them, I dismiss it: though you might grudge them their tithes, and yet not break communion; for you are no less liable to them now, than if you were in our communion. And not now to enter upon the jus divinum of tithes, (which I think is very plain;) yet till you can shew it to be a sin for the king and parliament to give allowances or estates to the clergy, as well as to other men, you can never countenance a separation upon the account of tithes. There are many in our communion who are not yet persuaded of the divine right of tithes.
 - 6. As to your sect. II, against swearing, you have

obtained an act of parliament to swear in your own form. Therefore that objection is taken out of the way; at least it can be made no pretence for a separation.

7. As to your sect. III, concerning war, you say no more of it than that it ought to cease among Christians. And who does not wish it? But that it may sometimes be necessary and lawful you have allowed, in engaging to the government to maintain soldiers in Pennsylvania. But, however, you may keep that opinion, and yet not make a separation; as you may what you mention sect. IV, V, VI, and VII; that is, the salutations of the times, plainness of speech, not to marry from among yourselves, plainness in apparel, and to refrain sports and pastimes.

8. As to sect. VIII, against our public fasts and feasts, they are little enough observed amongst ourselves. You'll not be much quarrelled for that; but your reason against them, because they are of human institution, needs another reason why that is one, which you do not give us. All churches, both before and since Christ, have done the same; and there is no prohibition against it. However, if you cannot comply with it, you may stay at home on those days; that is no reason for a general separation.

And these are all the causes you have instanced or hinted at in your book; and I hope, upon serious consideration, you will not think that any or all of them are sufficient for a separation.

Remember what you said to your own separatists of Harp-lane, when they desired to put up past quarrels; you bid them then to "return from their sepa"ration." Take the good advice you have given. Sure the cause is more important; and our church can plead more authority over you than you could over them: and if you think that she has errors and defects, (wherein I will join with you,) yet consider that no errors can justify a breach of communion, but those which are imposed as conditions of communion.

We shall have many things to bear with, to bemoan, to amend, to struggle with, while we are upon this earth.

And he that will make a separation for every error, will fall into much greater error and sin than that which he would seek to cure; it is like tearing Christ's seamless coat, because we like not the colour, or to mend the fashion of a sleeve.

God direct you, and us all: to his grace I commend you, and the influences of his blessed Spirit, to shew you what great things it is in your power to do for him and his church, and give you a heart to do them, that it be not laid to your charge.

ADVERTISEMENT.

I WOULD not have the reader or the Quakers think, because I have instanced but in seven particulars, wherein the Quakers have copied after the ancient heretics within the first one hundred and fifty years of Christianity, that therefore there are no more. But I would not swell this matter to too great a bulk. I have shewn in the Snake, sect. IX, vol. iv, how George Fox falls in with the Patripassians, who denied any distinction of persons in

the Godhead; and consequently held that it was God the Father who was born of the blessed Virgin, and died for us. And whoever will compare the tenets of the Quakers with the account which Epiphanius and others later have given of the Gnostic and other heretics of those times, will find many other particulars wherein they agree. But because the Quakers, and others of our dissenters, have (for no cause but their own guilt) excepted against the account of former heresies given by those of afterages, I have, to take away all umbrage, fetched my authorities from those who were cotemporaries with those heretics which they mention.



SOME

SEASONABLE REFLECTIONS

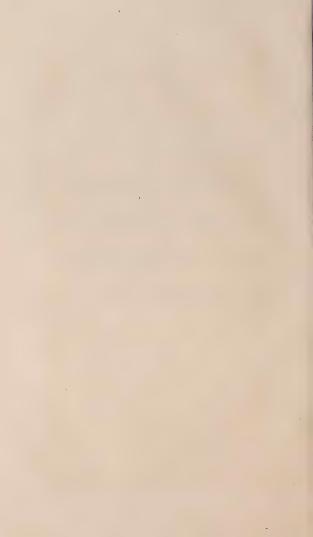
UPON

THE QUAKERS' SOLEMN PROTESTATION

AGAINST

GEORGE KEITH'S PROCEEDINGS AT TURNERS' HALL, April 29, 1697.

Which was by them printed, and sent thither, as the reasons of their not appearing to defend themselves: herein annexed verbatim.



A Solemn Protestation against George Keith's Advertisement, arbitrary Summons, and Proceedings against certain Persons, and a Meeting of the People called Quakers.

WHEREAS the said G. K., a Scotchman, has assumed to himself a power and authority to erect several meetings of the nature of some strange and new court of judicature at Turners' Hall, London: one on the 11th of the month called June, 1696, and another on the 29th of this present month called April, 1697, (under pretence of having the permission of the civil authority, that he is further to detect the vile and gross errors and heresies of certain persons by name, and a meeting of the people called Quakers,) unto which he hath cited or summoned them, to "hear themselves recharged, and "proved guilty thereof," as being "repugnant to "the great fundamentals of the Christian religion;" (which charges of his, as perversely stated by him, are expressly denied by us;) for proof thereof referring to his own printed Advertisement and Narrative, which have been largely answered in print, he having begun the controversy with us, by printing divers bitter invectives against us, expressly contrary to his own former testimonies in print; and divers of our friends' books, in answer to him. still lie heavy upon him unreplied to. And seeing he cannot effect his invidious designs in print, to make his odious character of heresy, "spreading gan"grene, and contagion," &c. take effect against us, he has presumed to erect such an arbitrary course of judicature in a confused meeting at Turners' Hall, and thereunto, in his own name and authority, to summon the persons and meeting as aforesaid, without their privity, concurrence, consent, or agreement thereunto, either as to the time, place, terms, or propositions, but he is the sole imposer.

We, therefore, who are concerned in behalf of the peaceable people called Quakers, both as freeborn Englishmen and Christians, do deny and solemnly testify against the usurpation, arbitrary and irregular proceedings of the said G. K., and against his new jurisdiction, (assumed by him,) for the same reasons which were exhibited in print the last year, Why the People called Quakers refused their Appearance to his peremptory Summons: and therefore he had no reason to expect their appearance this year, (the more insincere he in his new summons.) And more particularly,

- 1. Because he has no legal power to erect any such new court of judicature, and therein set himself up as judge, and publicly to stage, brand, and condemn peaceable protestant subjects, and that in their absence too, (who are also freeborn Englishmen,) as heretics, &c. and thereby to endeavour to expose them to the scorn, contempt, and rage of a mixed multitude, who are unmeet to judge of religious and spiritual matters or controversies.
- 2. We do not believe the civil authority, or any concerned therein, on due consideration or just information, will countenance or permit such an usurped authority or pernicious precedent as the said G. K. has assumed and attempted in this case;

tending not only to discord, divisions, heats, animosities, and tumults, but to invade the just liberties of freeborn Englishmen, (who are peaceable protestant subjects,) and to gratify and strengthen the popish interest, that they may glory in such divisions and disorders made by turbulent incendiaries.

We are not unsensible that some officious and envious agents are in the bottom of this turbulent attempt; who, although they may pretend to be reformed protestants, yet savour too much of a popish persecuting spirit, (justly complained of by protestants,) and whose work tends to bring an odium upon the protestant religion.

- 3. We presume the said G. K. can produce no legal commission from the civil authority, either by act of parliament, or under the great seal of England, annually to hold and erect his said court of judicature, to summon, convict, and condemn Quakers (so called) or any other freeborn Englishmen, or protestant subjects, for heresy or heretics, who are contrarywise legally recognised.
- 4. His feigned and false pretence of justly desiring the persons and meeting aforesaid to be present, (i. e. to hear themselves recharged, convicted, and condemned of vile and gross heresies, &c.) appears not only a peremptory summons, but his noise of vile and gross errors and heresies, "spreading gan-"grene and contagion, infecting many thousands in "these three nations," &c. does much resemble the popish clamours and calumnies against protestant martyrs, and then "away with them, cut them off;" and fire and fagot followed, when the writ de hæretico comburendo, and the six bloody articles, were

in force, 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14, both which are justly and happily repealed.

5. For the same reasons which the parliament gave in the sixteenth year of king Charles I, against the court star-chamber, and high commission court, (ch. 9, 10,) and for taking away and dissolving the same; (though these had more face of authority than this of George Keith's;) we oppose, deny, and protest against these his irregular and arbitrary proceedings, and his new court of judicature, and usurped power and authority therein, as (not only tending to discord, disorder, and persecution, and endangering the public peace, but also) repugnant to the great charter, fundamental laws, (and liberties of England,) providing "that no freeman shall be " condemned or any way destroyed," without " due " order of law," as well as expressly contrary to the intent and tenor of the late act of parliament, made in the first year of the reign of king William and queen Mary, entitled, An Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England, &c. made for the Ease of scrupulous Consciences in the Exercise of Religion, as an effectual Means to unite their Majesties' Protestant Subjects in Interest and Affection. And the meeting-places thereby permitted or allowed and recorded being for religious worship, as in the said act is expressed, consequently not for division, discord, or stages of contention; and therefore we are not free, either as men or Christians, to subject ourselves to any such irregular summons, or arbitrary power and usurpation as aforesaid.

6. Heresy having been made an high crime in law, [Mirror, Justices, p. 16,] and highly punish-

able, George Keith's publicly staging and branding us as heretics, appears both an high defamation, and tending to destroy us in our reputations and liberties also, both contrary to Law and Gospel, and to introduce a new and severe persecution to gratify his envy. For his turbulent, persecuting spirit, and apostasy from Christian charity, meekness, and moderation, and from that faith that works by love. sufficiently appear; also by his Earnest Expostulation with the most pious and learned of the Church of England, (as flatteringly he terms them,) to incense both the clergy and civil authority against us, in his printed Postscript to his Antichrists and Sadducees, and therein commending the popish watchmen of Rome and popish countries above " most " among the protestants," for their zeal against such antichristian errors and heresies as he there would make the world believe Quakers hold "much worse "than the worst of popery," (p. 40, 41,) and his summoning and condemning us as heretics, appears so much resembling the practice of some of his countrymen of the presbytery to incense the rabble or mob against our friends in Scotland, as they have of late shamefully done, both in Glasgow and Edinburgh, to the great and barbarous abuse of our poor harmless friends in those parts, by their bitter clamours and aspersions against them as heretics, &c. that we humbly hope the civil protestant government of England will never countenance or permit such unwarrantable usurpation, which is not to use only spiritual weapons, (as he pretends,) but is of a contrary nature and tendence: we having treated the said G. K., at many select and solemn meetings we have had with him, in all Christian patience and

tenderness on our parts, which were slighted and rejected by him. Thus we have answered his advertisement and summons *ad hominem*, as peaceable freeborn Englishmen, whose present liberty ought not to be invaded or disquieted, either by any arbitrary usurpation or contentious irreligious meetings, whose end is to asperse and abuse others; nor may such with safety be imitated, allowed, or abetted by any of different persuasions.

Now let it be observed, whatever may happen to be the effects or consequence of the said George Keith's disorderly and unwarrantable proceedings, or meeting aforesaid, we have given out this solemn protestation against the same, to manifest our own innocency and clearness therefrom.

Written in behalf of the people called Quakers, by some of them concerned.

London, the 26th day of the 2d month, 1697.

Some Reflections upon the foregoing Protestation.

IT has been the common custom of the Quakers, since their first appearing in the world, to provoke others to disputes, and to answer all challenges sent to them for that purpose, as desiring nothing more than the occasion of vindicating and propagating their principles in the face of the world. They readily embraced the invitation of the Baptists to a public disputation at Barbican, and after gave them their challenge, and had their trial of skill at their meeting-place in Wheeler-street, and after printed their conferences. They had frequent disputes with Mr. Baxter, and several others: but these two years past they have altered their method; they are grown more sedate and modest, or they find their cause not so tenable as formerly they thought it, and rail at G. Keith for bringing them now to the like test.

They patiently endured his printed challenge to them last year, to meet him at Turners' Hall, and justify their doctrines. Some of their number went thither, and made some opposition, but without any deputation, as they said, from the body of the Quakers.

This year they have received another chairenge from him to the same purpose, to which the foregoing Protestation is all the answer they returned; and suffered him to produce his charges of gross heresies against them before the auditory there assembled, without any other opposition.

Therefore this their Protestation and whole defence ought seriously to be considered, which I will do without passion or ill words, other than when I am forced to repeat some of theirs.

For the design of the following Reflections is only to bring the Quakers to a thorough conviction of their errors, and to such an acknowledgment and confession of them as is indispensable to a true conviction. There is nothing more desired of them than to retract and disown what is proved to be faulty in their writings, and such faults as are either destructive to the faith, or scandalous (and so sinful) to the reputations of their neighbours, in giving false and uncharitable representations of them. And this they are obliged by all the rules of Christianity, it being the smallest satisfaction that they can make, to repair (so far at least) the injuries thereby done to the Christian doctrine, and to the good name of those whom they have wrongfully traduced.

But this Protestation shews how unwillingly they are brought to either, by their shifting and strained excuses for not appearing in their own defence. As in the first line, that G. Keith is a Scotchman: again, that his design is to "gratify the popish interest;" and that there are underhand "officious and envious "agents, whose work tends to bring an odium upon "the protestant religion."

But these deserve no answer, being but clamours; and as groundless as his, who called his resty horse popishly affected. For the detection of the Quakers by Protestants is so far from bringing any odium upon the protestant religion, that it is the only

method to preserve the protestant religion from the scandal that must unavoidably fall upon it, if the Quakers are allowed to come under that denomination. For then must we own them as Protestants who have thrown off the sacraments, and all outward priesthood and ordinances; nay, who deny the holy Trinity, the divinity of that man, Jesus our Lord, or redemption by his blood outwardly shed; the resurrection of the body, or a final and outward judgment at the end of the world. Then are they good Protestants, who esteem the bishops and church of England to be Baal's priests, conjurers, nay very devils! Can they and we both be Protestants? What a notion will this beget of protestancy! how involved and self-contradictious, how contemptible and odious will this render the name of protestant to all the world! Will not this latitude bring Socinians and Deists, even Mahomet and the very heathen, within the pale of the protestant communion?

Therefore it is absolutely necessary, either that we should renounce the name of Protestants, or no longer comprise the Quakers within that pale; that is, unless they can fully and clearly justify their ancient testimonies as to these things objected against them, or otherwise, now at last, freely disown and condemn them.

Till they shall be brought to do one of these, it is in our own defence that we dispute against them; and they cannot brand this with the ignominious names either of severity or persecution.

They are the aggressors; they have attacked our religion in all the parts of it; our bishops and clergy, and our whole constitution.

And we require no greater amends for all that they have done against us, than to say that they are sorry for it, and have done us wrong; and that they will no longer stand by those who have sought and endeavoured our ruin.

And though they should refuse us even this justice, and reasonable security for the future, yet we press for no persecution against them, for no fines or imprisonments; but only that we should not be obliged to acknowledge them as true Protestants, and that we may have liberty to justify ourselves and our religion against the grievous calumnies with which they have loaded both.

And if this be refused to us, the cry of persecution will run on our side. For what greater or more unjust persecution can there be than to compel men to lie still under the severest reproaches, and debar them from the privilege due to the greatest offenders, to make any defence, or so much as a complaint of their sufferings, however undeserved?

Is it no persecution of the tongue for the Quakers to represent our clergy as the vilest and most odious of mankind; as an abominable tribe, the bane of soul and body? &c. And do they call it a persecution in us so much as to remember or repeat the epithets which they have given us, and which they still refuse to retract? for (as said at first) that is all which is desired of them. But now let us consider their Protestation.

Page 1. It refers to their answers in print, particularly to G. Keith's Narrative, and says, that "they "are yet unreplied to;" whereas that Answer to the Narrative has been replied to in Satan Disrobed, which is yet unreplied to, except in G. White-

head's carping at some passages in it, in his pretended Answer to the Snake in the Grass, ibid. He says they were summoned without their privity. That is false; for they had notice in print about a month before. But it was without their consent or agreement: that's true; for they would never consent to have their errors exposed. This is the plea (if it would be admitted) of all guilty persons, who do not consent or agree to be brought to justice, or to have their crimes detected: but if they were innocent, they would desire to clear themselves.

As to their reasons held forth in their Protesta-

I. First, they operate in every article as strongly against their public disputations with the Baptists at Barbican, Wheeler-street, &c.; their coming into churches in time of divine service, and provoking the priests to dispute with them, against the whole method of their own first setting up, and all their manner of proceeding since. Secondly, the meeting appointed at Turners' Hall the 11th of June last, and this 29th of April, was no court of judicature, nor any court at all: only for the information of those who pleased to be present, and to have given the Quakers an opportunity to vindicate themselves, if they thought themselves misrepresented; and which it is not to be doubted but they would have done, if they thought they could have done it. For why would they, who have sought, and even forced, all opportunities to recommend their doctrine, refuse such an occasion that was offered to them; and to have done it with so great advantage, in the face of the nation, not only to establish their own doctrine, but to overthrow their opponents;

and that with so much the more advantage, that it was at the instance of their adversaries, and by their provocation? But their pleading that they are freeborn Englishmen to excuse it, is pleading guilty in a very foolish and shameful manner. And their objecting that G. K. had no legal power for what he did, was condemning of G. Fox and all the Quakers, who never so much as pretended to any legal power for all their oppositions and disputations, which were in direct contradiction to the legal powers, and by an authority (as they pretended) far superior to all legal powers upon earth; and by which they took upon them to declare the laws null and of none effect, as in case of tithes, of maintaining an outward priesthood, &c.; but more especially as to their discipline of the second day's meeting, of their monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings, which are direct courts, and of judicature too; for therein they grant orders, inflict censures, as of excommunication against G. Keith, &c.; have deputies and representatives from all the counties of England, and from other parts of the world.

But they have herein started a very material question, which ought to be asked of them in their own words, viz. "What legal power they have to "erect any such new courts of judicature, and "therein set up themselves as judges," (which G. K. did not at Turners' Hall, but left it to the auditors to judge for themselves,) "and publicly stage, brand, "and condemn peaceable protestant subjects," (i. e. both the church of England and dissenters,) "and "that in their absence too, (who are also freeborn "Englishmen,) as heretics;" (nay more, as "devils "incarnate, Baal's priests, dogs, wolves, conjurers,"

&c.;) "and thereby to endeavour to expose them to "the scorn, contempt, and rage of a mixed multi-"tude, who are unmeet to judge of religious and " spiritual matters or controversies?" And this cannot come within the Act of Toleration, which is only for religious worship; and it is expressly cautioned, that it shall be with their doors open, that all may have liberty to come in and hear; otherwise they forfeit all the privileges of that Act. Now at the meetings before mentioned they have their doors shut, and doorkeepers at them, to keep out all them they think fit not to admit; and their business is government and discipline, which is no ways within the Act, and comes under the penalty of all those laws which prohibit all convocations, meetings, consultations, &c. without the king's license; much more to enact, promulgate, or decree any orders or constitutions whatsoever. Now if the bishops and clergy of England, though recognised and established by the law, would incur a præmunire so much as to meet, consult, or debate, though concerning only their own order and spiritual jurisdiction, without the king's license; how then have the Quakers this authority, and freely and yearly, nay weekly, exercise it without control? Further, if when the clergy do meet in council, convocation, or synod, the king may have his commissioner present, to inspect, and even to regulate, their proceedings, that nothing may be there transacted prejudicial to the government; how much more reasonable is it, that though the Quakers' convocations or synods were tolerated by law, yet that the king should have his commissioners there, to inspect their proceedings, and give an account of their debates? If Christian emperors and kings have had their ambassadors and ministers present in the general councils; if the Hugonots in France have submitted, nay desired and requested, to have the king's commissions present in those synods, which by his majesty's grace and favour they have been suffered to hold, that the government might not only be secured from any attempts of theirs, but all fears, or so much as jealousies, be taken away: if the Presbyterians in Scotland, though now established as the national religion, have the like commissioner present in their general assemblies; why should not the Quakers be obliged to receive a commissioner from the government into the second day's, monthly, quarterly, at least into their yearly meetings? If at their beginning they were too inconsiderable for the notice of the government, they are now become a numerous, a wealthy, and a potent people, and in all respects worthy not to be neglected.

II. They give us a considerable hint, in saying that they are legally recognised by the parliament; and thence would infer, that it is a crime against the government to accuse them of heresy, which is highly punishable by the law.

1. But is not Turners' Hall as much recognised and tolerated as Gracechurch-street? and is not apostasy as grievous a charge as heresy? and do not the Gracechurch-street Quakers accuse those of Turners' Hall for apostates? Let them acquit themselves of this, and at the same time they have cleared G. K. and those of Turners' Hall from this charge.

2. But are not other dissenters as much within the Act of Toleration as the Quakers? and how do the Quakers treat them? See their book entitled. Quakerism a new Nickname, &c., p. 165, where they call them, "an ill-bred pedantic crew, the " bane of religion, and pest of the world; the old "incendiaries to mischief, and best to be spared " of mankind; against whom the boiling vengeance " of an irritated God is ready to be poured out." And are such men as these fit to be tolerated! Are such men as these fit to be recognised by the parliament as Protestants! What an odium must this bring upon the very name of protestant, not only amongst the Papists, but with all that call themselves Christians, even to the very heathen, and all mankind! Who will believe this representation of our dissenters, which is given by the Quakers? And what sort of reflection does this imply upon the parliament, which does recognise these men as Protestants, and make a law on purpose to grant you toleration! This is referred to the committee of privileges to consider.

3. But let us go a little further. The church of England is not only recognised and tolerated, but established by law: and if regard to laws ought to be observed, she might expect some more decent treatment (upon that account) at the hand of the Quakers, who now plead the laws in their defence. And the common epithet which the clergy of the church of England receives from the Quakers is that of "Baal's priests," as frequently in G. Fox's Journal, and the rest of their books. And this makes them not only heretics, but downright idolaters, as bad as the very heathen. Nay, the Quakers call them "devils, conjurers, thieves, dogs, wolves," &c. In their Guide Mistaken, &c. p. 18, you have

this elegant description of them, viz. "The idle " gormandizing priests of England run away with "150,000l. a year, under pretence of God's minis-"ters-And no sort of people have been so uni-" versally, through ages, the very bane of soul and " body of the universe, as that abominable tribe, for " whom the theatre of God's most dreadful venge-" ance is reserved, to act their eternal tragedy upon," &c. And in excuse for these sort of expressions, they say again in their Serious Apology, p. 156, that "had they been ten thousand times more sig-" nificant, earnest, and sharp against that cursed bit-" ter stock of hirelings, they had been but enough; " and I would then say not enough, but that the " reverence I bear to the Holy Spirit (i. e. in the " Quakers) would oblige me to acquiesce in whatever "he should utter through any prophet or servant " of the Lord," i. e. the Quakers' prophets, who vented these soft expressions against the clergy of the church of England; which it seems needed an apology for the Quakers' acquiescing in such, and not inventing more sharp, which I suppose all the furies in hell could not help them to. But being so stinted to mildness, the aforesaid author goes on (ibid.) against the clergy thus: "And we have no-"thing for them but woes and plagues, who have " made drunk the nations, and laid them asleep on "downy beds of soft sin, pleasing principles, whilst "they have cut their purses, and picked their pock-"ets: Tophet is prepared for them to act their " eternal tragedy upon, whose scenes will be re-" newed, direful, anguishing woes of an eternal ir-" reconcilable justice."

And they make an excuse for not saying ten

thousand times more significant, earnest, and sharp invectives against the church of England; and say, that if they could, all would be too little for them. We are much obliged to them for their love! but where is their reverence for laws, with which they so much press G. Keith, for invading (as they pretend) the Act of Toleration, in accusing them of heresy? while they make no ceremony of ramming all the church of England into hell, and are sorry they cannot find a place ten thousand times worse for them; and take no account at all of their being established by law, or of their being freeborn Englishmen, which they plead as their security, to hide and cover them from G. Keith, &c.

4. But though they appeal to the laws when they seem to favour them, yet if in any thing they go counter to the least of their principles, they damn both laws and lawmakers, and all who dare own or obey any such laws. Thus when laws were made for the payment of tithes to the clergy, the Quakers boldly declared such laws to be null and void, damned the lawmakers for devils, and all such as should obey them. And this appears under the hands of about seven thousand of them, printed 1659, under this title: "These several papers were " sent to the parliament the 20th day of the 5th "month, 1659; being above seven thousand of the "names of the handmaids and daughters of the "Lord, and such as feel the oppression of tithes," &c. And the like was subscribed by many more thousands of the men-Quakers, and all approved and directed by their great apostle G. Fox. In the abovesaid book, p. 3, they say, "The commands of " men must be annulled that take tithes, and not

"to be obeyed by them that live in the covenant of God." And, p. 21, "Therefore we, with our names and hands, bear our testimony against tithes, the giver of them, the setter of them up, and the taker of them." And, p. 63, "We declare with our hands, and with our lives and estates, against the ministry that takes tithes—and the law that upholds them." And, p. 71, "Are not all these set up by the Dragon's power, and held up by the Dragon's power, the Devourer, the Deserved."

Here the parliament are the Dragon and the Devil; and they engage their lives and estates in a solemn league and covenant against them and their laws; which laws they now hold up as a buckler to shield them from the force of George Keith.

5. But they proceed further than all this: they not only condemn laws, when they are against them, but they declare against all magistracy, except in their own hands, but especially against that of kings. "The Lord is risen," says Edward Burroughs, in his Standard, &c. p. 9, "to overturn kings and " princes, and governments and laws; and he will " change times and laws and governments. There " shall be no king but Jesus, nor no government of "force but the government of the Lamb," i. e. of the Quakers, who think themselves only to be in his power. G. Fox, in his A Word from the Lord, p. 15, says, "There is that nature that would have "an earthly king to reign, in which nature lodgeth "the murderer." And in a book of his which bears this title, Several Papers given forth by George Fox, printed 1660, he says, p. 8, "All kings and " emperors have sprung up in the night, since the "days of the apostles, among the antichrists." And, p. 12. "So the Christians go out from Christ, and " set up kings, like the heathen." P. 16, "We know "that the kings are the spiritual Egyptians, got up " since the days of the apostles." P. 9 and 18, "You " never read of any (king) among the Christians, "but among the apostates, since the days of the "apostles." P. 8, "Many cry for an earthly king, " and will have Cæsar: and is not this the same " nature the Jews were in? and do not they in this "crucify Jesus?" P. 9, "Are not all these Chris-"tians, that will dote so much of an earthly king, "traitors against Christ? And will these that are " true Christians have any more kings among them " but Christ?---I say, that is the false church "that doth not live-upon the heads of the "kings," &c.; i. e., in their cant, to trample them under their feet. "The Lord will clear the land " of you, (rulers, priests, &c.,) and not any that re-" jects Christ shall rule in England;" say they in Discovery of Enmity, &c. p. 29. Now whether they do not think that all church of England men do reject Christ, they have shewn in the above epithets which they have given of them, and that they think the same of all others but themselves. See the Snake in the Grass, sect. XVI.

Thus much for kings. And now for the remainder of the constitution of our government. The next is the house of lords; towards whom G. Fox shews his respect, in a paper which he directs, To the Council of Officers of the Army, &c. printed 1659; where, exulting in the victories of the saints against the king, among other marks of their holiness, and to guard against returning to the old con-

stitution of kings, lords, &c., which then began to threaten the usurpers, and towards which he feared some of them did too much incline, he minds them of their former glorious rebellion, and says, p. 7, "O! what a sincerity was once in the nation! "what a dirty, nasty thing it would have been to "have heard of a house of lords among them!" Thus civilly does he make his court to their lord-ships.

Now for the whole parliament: the Quakers make as bold with them, and preach up the lawfulness of the people (whom they called their masters) taking arms against them, and turning them out of doors. Thus says Francis, in his Information, and also Advice, to the Army, &c. p. 5; "Many," says he, "are so doting on the name of a parliament, "as though it were essential, and cry up privilege "of parliament: but if they will not hearken to "the voice of their masters the people, but may be "call them rebels and traitors, if they should be "turned out," &c.

How luckily now have the Quakers brought in the laws of the land in their aid against G. Keith, as if themselves were wholly innocent in this matter! But they have thereby given occasion for very necessary and important considerations to be had upon this head. But I proceed.

III. They accuse G. Keith of a design to invade their property, in charging them with such a penal crime as heresy, and to raise a persecution against them.

This is a pitiful and a guilty plea; and the proper defence had been to have appeared and justified themselves; but to hide themselves under acts of parliament, being freeborn Englishmen, and securing of their properties, is flying out of the pit, and calling for help from the bystanders; which is yielding up the cause, to all intents and purposes, and leaving their conquerors to triumph without any opposition.

But it serves for other ends, which they little dreamed of, even to call their own sins to remembrance. For they accused G. Keith of this same crime of heresy, for preaching of an outward Christ, besides their light within, which they called *preaching of two Christs*: and they prosecuted him for this, and proceeded even to an accusation against his life; as you may see in the printed trials of him and others in Pennsylvania, and in a book entitled, The Heresy and Hatred, which was falsely charged upon the Innocent, justly returned upon the Guilty, &c.; printed at Philadelphia, 1693.

But with what face could these men accuse G. Keith for invading of property, whose avowed principles are to the destruction of the properties of others? as in the case of tithes, which are as much the property of the clergy, confirmed by acts of parliament, as any man's estate in England.

And not only in tithes, wherein they pretend some scruple of conscience; for their conscience extends likewise to other men's houses and lands. G. Fox, in his Fifty-nine Particulars, which he sent "to the parliament of the commonwealth of Eng-"land," printed 1659, p. 8, the 32d particular is in these words; "Let all those fines that belong to "lords of manors be given to the poor people, for "lords have enough." And, particular 29, "Let "all those abbey-lands, glebe-lands, that are given LESLIE, VOL, VII.

"to the priests, be given to the poor of the nation; "and let all the great houses, abbies, steeple"houses," (this is the name they give, in scorn, to our churches,) "and Whitehall be for alms-houses,
"for the blind and lame to be there," &c. Here Whitehall must go too, as well as the fines of lords of manors. And in the forementioned address to the same parliament, 1659, subscribed by above seven thousand of the Quakers, p. 59, 63, and 65, they require that the late king, (as these rebels styled him,) his rents, parks, and houses, should be sold, and all the colleges, and their lands; and the very bells out of the churches, except one in a town, to give notice of fire, &c.

This was no invading of property in them! But for G. Keith, or any other, to detect their errors, this is encroaching upon their property as Englishmen! And no less than a direct persecution! And therefore they cry out upon the brachium seculare, the "temporal laws," to come into their rescue, of which they have so often and loudly complained against others, as a popish principle, to answer by such inquisitions instead of arguments.

But let us compare this terrible persecution of George Keith with what the Quakers have preached up, and that in the name of the Lord, against others. George Bishop, in his Warnings of the Lord, &c., printed 1660, p. 19, cries out to the officers of the army, "Remember Amalek, that is," says he, "the "soul-murdering and conscience-binding clergyman; "blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under "heaven—ye shall not forget it." And of the lawyers he says, "Vex the Midianites, for they vex "you with their wiles." And G. Fox, in News out

of the North, p. 31, proclaims thus; "Slay Baal, Ba"laam must be slain, and all the hirelings must be
"turned out of the kingdom." These are their
common epithets for the clergy.

And in his Papists' Strength, &c., printed 1658, p. 19, he says, "And this I declare in the presence " of the Lord God, and all the magistrates, that be "in God's fear, they will break down the mass-"houses, schools, and colleges, which you make " priests and ministers in." This was to pull down the nests, that the rooks might be banished: but they were not to escape so well. For "O," (says Edward Burroughs in his Word of Advice to the Soldiers, p. 2,) "give the priests blood to drink, for "they are worthy!" This was comfortable advice to soldiers! They are ready executioners! When thus hallood by prophets sent from the Lord, as they pretended. "Slay Balaam! Vex the Midian-"ites! Root out the remembrance of Amalek from "under heaven! Give the priests blood to drink; "turn the hirelings out of the kingdom." Here was no design of persecution, or hurting of any man's property; or of reviling and blemishing the reputation of freeborn Englishmen, and exposing them to the fury of the mob! "to the scorn, contempt, and "rage of a mixed multitude, who are unmeet to " judge of religious and spiritual matters, or contro-"versies," as the Quakers urge against G. Keith. But it seems that they thought common soldiers were good and sufficient judges of controversy. G. Fox addresses his sweet paper, (before mentioned,) not only "To the council of officers of the army, " and the heads of the nation," but " for the inferior " officers and soldiers to read," as it is worded in the direction.

IV. But perhaps the Quakers have changed their mind since those times, and are now become more sober and peaceable in their dispositions; I hope so of many of them: but then this is against the will and direction of their leaders and rulers For since all the late objections which have been made against them, both as to their errors in faith, and their violent persecuting principles, they have in their last vearly meeting in London, 1696, reasserted the whole, that none may think they are changed in the least tittle. For in the yearly Epistle then given forth and printed, they exhort all the Quakers not to be moved at all the objections against their ancient doctors, or to think them to have been fallible, (for then down must come their whole foundation,) but to stand stiff to their tackle, or, as they word it, to "hold up the holy testimony of truth, which hath " made us" (says that decretory Epistle) "a people " to God, and preserved us so unto this day, and "that in all the parts of it: for truth is one, and "changes not; and what it convinced us of to be "evil in the beginning, it reproves still;" i.e. the church of England, and all our magistrates, kings, lords, and commons, to be serpents, devils, scarlet coloured beasts, &c., and they maintain their ancient testimony, and that, in all the parts of it. For, "truth is one, and changes not;" i. e. the Quakers who are, and always have been in the truth, have not changed at all since the beginning. So that by this they have made themselves answerable for all that they have said since their beginning.

And in that yearly Epistle, mention is made of deputations sent thither from Barbadoes, Maryland, West-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Bermudas, Antegoa, Holland, Ireland, and Scotland; which shews the extent of their dominions. And this yearly Epistle goes through all these, and engages the whole body of the Quakers.

V. Now the application which it is rational to make of all this is, that these Quakers having not fewer than a thousand meetings in England; which, by computing but a hundred to a meeting one with another, will amount to one hundred thousand in England alone, besides all the countries above named: it is therefore very reasonable that so great a body should not be neglected, especially considering that they are grown very wealthy, and are the most compacted in their government and discipline of any community that is amongst us.

And if they are such irreconcilable enemies to our church and government as their ancient testimonies do hold forth, they must be extremely dangerous.

But if they are as heterodox in the Christian faith, as the quotations out of their books (which they do not deny) do testify, then it will be an horrible scandal to our religion to have them recognised as Protestants; and will give the Papists such an handle against us as we shall not be able to withstand.

Therefore the least that can be expected from them is, to appear before such person or persons as shall be thereunto appointed by authority; and there publicly, and under their hands, to disown, renounce, and condemn, in such positive and express terms as shall be prescribed to them, all the above ignominious and bloody quotations out of their books, and such others as shall be fully proved against them, together with the authors of them, as not only fallible, but erroneous and wicked teachers, at least in all those points which shall be so proved against them.

And if they shall refuse to do this, then can they not, with any justice, complain (though complain they would) if the parliament did recall their including them within the number of Protestants, it being otherwise impossible to retrieve the reputation of the name of Protestant, or give any tolerable security to the government. And a less satisfaction cannot be expected for all the dreadful and odious characters given of the bishops and church of England, than a retractation of them, and acknowledging that the same were not given forth by the Holy Spirit of God, as these Quakers have blasphemously pretended.

And their modern advocate W. C., under the disguise of a moderate churchman, cannot desire fairer terms for them, unless he will throw off his vizard, and declare himself as great an enemy to the church of England as themselves.

There is no medium; he that has said vile and scandalous things of another, must either unsay, or stand by it, and justify it. And the lookers on have leave to think the accusation just against those who are content to sit with it, and dare not insist upon so small a satisfaction as a bare acknowledgment: but when (without this, or any sign of repentance) they court those who have abused them, and seek to engage them by new favours, it is not

only a servile truckling; but when others are concerned as well as themselves, their predecessors, their successors, their whole order, and the cause of religion and Christianity with them, it is most unjust, and betraying of their trust; it is letting their flocks go to the wolves, and giving them their pass. When the honour of religion is once prostituted, its power and influence will soon decay.

VI. But the Quakers have the least reason of any dissenters to expect the bishops' or church of England's concurrence in granting them toleration; they having exceeded all others in rancour, not only against the bishops' persons, but against episcopacy itself. For when the Baptists had said they thought it their "duty to preserve them" (the bishops and clergy) "from all violence," &c., the Quakers assaulted them from all quarters, even for so much tenderness towards the bishops, as to preserve their persons from violence and injury, much more to think of granting them any toleration. Ed. Burroughs, one of the principal and most primitive pillars of the Quakers' church, wrote a tract on purpose against this Declaration of the Anabaptists, and says to them, (p. 618 of his Works, printed 1672,) "What, are you about to make a league and cove-" nant with antichrist?----Do you look upon them " to be ministers of Christ or of antichrist? Is not "this a league with hell and death?" And, p. 619, "What, are you now for tolerating episcopacy? "And if episcopacy, why may not popery be tole-" rated? seeing they are one and the selfsame in "ground and nature," &c. He was seconded by another of great name among the Quaker worthies, Rich. Hubberthorn, who attacked this Declaration of the Anabaptists in the same strain, (p. 229 of his Works, printed 1663;) "Why will not you tolerate "popery," says he, "as well as episcopacy? Have "not the professors of episcopacy murdered and "slain, and do labour to murder and slay, the people "of God, as well as the papists? And will you to-"lerate the Common Prayer among the episcopacy, "and not the mass-book among the Papists, seeing "that the mass was the substance out of which the "Common Prayer was extracted?" And much more to the same purpose, in these and others of their writers.

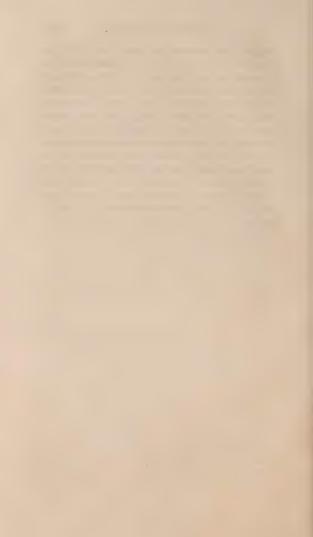
And if they will not now retract these, and own them as false principles, they must either think that the church of England does approve of their doctrines to be truly Christian, or otherwise that she commits a great sin in granting toleration to them. None have a right to expect toleration from others, but they whose principle it is to grant toleration to those others, when they are in the same condition. For.

Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.

But there is an exception, as to the Quakers, in this case; for, as told before, they declare against all kings and governments upon earth. Why? Because they will have no king but Jesus; of which they have given public notice in what they style, A Declaration from the People called Quakers, to the present distracted Nation of England, printed 1659, wherein, p. 8 and 9, they proclaim, that they "have "chosen the Son of God to be their king, and that "he hath chosen them to be his people:" and thence infer, that it is "his only right to rule in nations,"

(whence they supersede the commission of all other kings and rulers,) so is it, say they, our heirship to "possess the uttermost parts of the earth;" and that he may command them to fight in this cause, to regain his right and theirs, which is usurped from them. Therefore, though they may expect toleration from others, yet ought they not to grant it to others; because all others are usurpers of the power which they possess; and theirs only is the heirship to possess not only England, but "the ut-"termost parts of the earth;" for which they have declared it their principle to fight; nor will they retract this secret of their government. Let this be the test.

May 8, 1697.



AN

ESSAY

CONCERNING

THE DIVINE RIGHT OF TITHES.



PREFACE

TO THE

Essay concerning the Divine Right of Tithes.

THE subject of tithes is the great Diana of the Quakers; they have bent their whole force against tithe, as the likeliest means to overthrow the church: and herein they have many abetters; upon whose account I resolved to consider of tithe in a discourse by itself.

My controversy with the Quakers has led me into subjects of different natures, and engaged me among other parties. As when they began to be convinced concerning the necessity and benefit of the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, but stuck upon the administrator to whom they should go for it; to satisfy them in this, forced me directly upon the cause of episcopacy: this concerned other dissenters; and received a very angry answer from one who styles himself a Presbyterian: wherein I could find nothing to reply to but passion and personal reflections; therefore I let it sleep.

The like fate 1 may meet with in this, that it will be opposed by others than the Quakers: and indeed it is for the sake of others more than the Quakers that I write it; of others who should have more understanding, as not being carried away with that blind enthusiasm which possesses the Quakers; but yet who suffer themselves to swim down the stream of a popular sacrilege.

There is nothing needful to these men but to rouse a little, to open their eyes and consider; and not to follow a multitude to do evil.

I have not in the following sheets quoted any of the Quaker books, or repeated their poor arguments, which

they only picked up and down the highway, the common objections that were then running about, and you will meet with every where; they are all answered, though not named in what follows.

But it is very observable, to what an excess of fury and madness, against all the institutions of God, that spirit of delusion which possessed the Quakers did hurry them; even to account this part of the worship of God, the offering of his tithe, to be a renouncing of Christ, a denial of his having come in the flesh, and a mark of antichrist; as you may see in the Snake in the Grass, vol. iv. sect. xix, and there sufficiently answered; together with their other designs they had in their opposition to tithes, on purpose to ruin and destroy the clergy.

Therefore, leaving these men, I turn to more considerable adversaries. And first I name Milton, only for his name, lest the party should say that I had not considered his performance against tithes; which has more wit, but little more argument, than the Quakers.

His fancy was too predominant for his judgment: his talent lay so much in satire, that he hated reasoning; or rather, he got not leave to make use of it while he wrote for hire against his own opinion: which appears by what he wrote unbribed, (which Mr. Toland has not reprinted,) contrary to what he afterwards had a pension to set up. He sacrificed a noble genius to the vices of the age. He has thrown away some of his raillery against tithes, and the church then under foot; which tickled little Toland to that degree, that though he has reprinted that precious piece against tithe, called, Considerations touching the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings, &c. among the rest of Milton's shame, yet he has thrust patches of it into that Life he wrote of Milton, the most considerable (we must suppose) that he could find, to be worth this repetition, as " a pulpit divine, a lollard indeed over his elbow-cushion: " and his sheep sit-as the sheep in their pews at Smith-" field;" and such like contemptible witticisms, unworthy an author of any name; and shew Mr. Toland's judgment in picking out these to adorn his Life, lest the reader might have overlooked such delicious strokes in the perusal of his works!

But to men of sense it seems rather like playing of booty, to please those fools and knaves who hired him to write against hirelings.

Nothing else could have made him submit to set down (what he must know to be false, unless we have a very mean opinion of his knowledge) the cry of the ignorant Quakers, that we made use of the "popish arguments for "tithes," (which Mr. Toland likewise reprints in the quotations he repeats in his life;) whereas all that have any skill in these matters do know, that the popish writers were the first and great corrupters of the doctrine of tithe, (as is told sect. x.) and that the opposers, and not the defenders of tithe, have borrowed their arguments. But Mr. Milton knew what would please; he regarded not the truth, but the hire.

And knowing this, he was resolved to cry whore first: therefore he charged the clergy with the name of hirelings; which if it be meant of those who take any thing for their preaching, it flies directly in the face of our blessed Saviour, who uses the same word concerning preachers, saying, that the labourer is worthy of his hire, Luke x.7. But if it be meant (as it can bear no other meaning) that they are the culpable hirelings who value the hire more than the work, that is to be known only by him who knows the heart, and can be guessed at by us only from the consequences.

And for St. Paul's preaching gratis to the Corinthians and Thessalonians, which is urged by the Quakers and Milton, it makes against them; for the apostle asserts his right to have been burdensome as the apostles of Christ, 1 Thess. ii. 6; and says, I have robbed other churches, taking wages of them, to do you service, 2 Cor. xi. 8: and he gives the reason ver. 12, to cut off occasion from them that desire occasion—Such are false apostles, &c., who had raised a great schism in the church of Corinth, alleging

that the apostles sought their own gain by their preaching, and endeavoured to make disciples to themselves rather than to Christ; for which cause he says he was glad that he had baptized so few in Corinth, (whence the Quakers argue against baptism too,) lest, says he, any should say that I had baptized in mine own name, 1 Cor. i. 15; and asks them, ver. 13, Were ye baptized in the name of Paul? For the same reason he would take no wages from the church at Corinth, to stop the mouths of these schismatical apostles; and says, he boasts in it. 2 Cor. xi, 10. But where had been the cause of boasting, if he had only refused to exact what was none of his due? He stands upon it to be his due; and says, So hath the Lord ordained, that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel, 1 Cor. ix. 14: but, says he, I have used none of these things, that is, amongst you. And therein he glories. He says, Though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of, for necessity is laid upon me, yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel. But there was no necessity laid upon him to abate of his right, which Christ had given to all his ministers, of taking wages or a maintenance from the people to whom they preach. And he abating of that, for prudential considerations at that time, is far from a precedent to all other times and places: for the same apostle tells us that the other apostles did not so, and that he did otherwise at other times and places.

If these Quakers, and others who rail at hirelings, would imitate the apostle's example herein, and take nothing themselves for their preaching, while they (as the apostle) assert the right of others to it, they might have some pretence.

But when we see George Fox, from a poor journeyman to a shoemaker in Manchester, from his leathern breeches, and going on foot, and often barefoot, mount, by his preaching trade, on horseback, with his man carrying his cloak before him, to act the gentleman, and leave 1000*l*. behind him for printing of his books, which cry out against hirelings! and say, *Freely ye have received*, freely give! And

when we see a man of Milton's wit chime in with such a herd, and help on the cry against hirelings! we find how easy it is for folly and knavery to meet, and that they are near of kin, though they bear different aspects.

Therefore, since Milton has put himself upon a level with the Quakers in this, I will let them go together; and take as little notice of his buffoonery, as of their dulness against tithes.

There is nothing worth quoting in his lampoon against the hirelings; but what there is of argument in it, is fully considered in what follows.

But there is another who has gone about his business more like a workman, and attacked tithes with great subtilty and learning; it is the famous Mr. Selden, in what he calls the History of Tithes; and pretends that it is nothing else but a plain history, without any design against the divine right, or any other settlement of tithes: but then he carries on his mine underground, and gives such accounts of them as would effectually overthrow them.

Therefore I have considered this book of Mr. Selden's with more care, as supposing it to contain the utmost that can be said or insinuated against the divine right of tithes.

Whether I have done him justice or not, let the reader judge.

I have one thing more to advertise in this place. By what is said sect. xi. n. 5, it may be thought as if I were of opinion that Ananias and Sapphira had neither vowed nor promised the price of their lands: though there is a caution put against this (if observed) in the wording of it, as it is said, "they had not formally vowed, or promised;" nor is that averred neither, but as follows, "for ought "appears," i. e. in the text, where it is not so expressly said; but I think it is implied: for it is plain by their answers that they sold their lands under the pretence of giving the whole price, as others did. How formally they had before promised or vowed this, is not said in the text: nor was there need of it; for supposing, as I do in the

that the apostles sought their own gain by their preaching, and endeavoured to make disciples to themselves rather than to Christ; for which cause he says he was glad that he had baptized so few in Corinth, (whence the Quakers argue against baptism too,) lest, says he, any should say that I had baptized in mine own name, 1 Cor. i. 15; and asks them, ver. 13, Were ye baptized in the name of Paul? For the same reason he would take no wages from the church at Corinth, to stop the mouths of these schismatical apostles; and says, he boasts in it. 2 Cor. xi, 10. But where had been the cause of boasting, if he had only refused to exact what was none of his due? He stands upon it to be his due; and says, So hath the Lord ordained, that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel, 1 Cor. ix. 14: but, says he, I have used none of these things, that is, amongst you. And therein he glories, He says, Though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of, for necessity is laid upon me, yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel. But there was no necessity laid upon him to abate of his right, which Christ had given to all his ministers, of taking wages or a maintenance from the people to whom they preach. And he abating of that, for prudential considerations at that time, is far from a precedent to all other times and places: for the same apostle tells us that the other apostles did not so, and that he did otherwise at other times and places.

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place above quoted, that they had only resolved it in the thoughts of their own mind, it was sacrilege, after that, to substract from what was so designed, and, by that, dedicated to God, though none knew it but God and themselves.

Therefore I took this way to obviate the cavils that might be raised concerning the formality of their vow, or dedication of this money, which we are required to shew and produce out of the text. Nothing less will serve some men upon some points! though they will be very loath to be tied to it themselves.

For example; that the sin for which Belshazzar was so suddenly and miraculously punished, was excess in drinking, of which there is not one word in the text. But the sin of sacrilege is there plainly set down, viz. his profaning the holy vessels of the temple; yet in the Assembly's Annotations (an. 1646) upon Dan. v. 2, they could find no sacrilege in this.

No, nor in the sin of Achan, Josh. vi. 17—19, and ch. vii. This was put upon covetousness; though the text says plainly that it was for the taking of what was accursed, that is, devoted and consecrated to God, and therefore accursed to any whosoever should invade it.

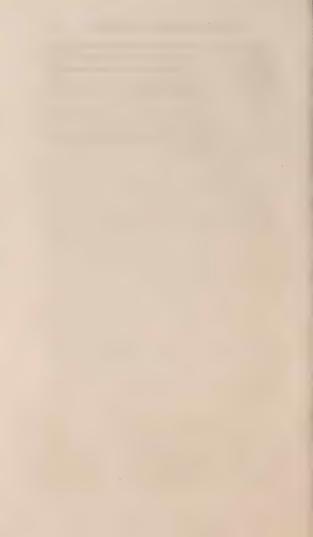
Neither could they find any sacrilege in the sin of Ananias; only covetousness there too, and vanity, lying, or any thing but sacrilege.

These two instances, of Achan in the beginning of the Jewish church, and of Ananias in the beginning of the Christian, are set in the front, that all might take notice of God's high indignation against this sin of sacrilege.

And it is to be noticed too, how close men that are resolved can shut their eyes.

There is not only no sacrilege in these instances, but there is not now any such sin as sacrilege; or some men are not capable of committing it. A poor rogue may be whipped for stealing a cushion or an hourglass out of a church, rather for example sake, than that there is any great matter in it, besides the humour of pilfering, which, in time, may lead them into our houses. But there are others, who can seize upon churches, and convert them to common use; and yet none dare call it sacrilege, or any fault at all; for it is none, if it be not sacrilege: and I would gladly be informed what that sin of sacrilege is, if this be not it.

I can see no remedy, but that we must even drop this sin as to some particular persons, times, and places: and the more sins we drop, we leave the less behind, and so may come to be good in time.



ESSAY

CONCERNING

THE DIVINE RIGHT OF TITHES.

INTRODUCTION.

ST. CLEMENS ROMANUS writing to the Corinthians about the schism which had unhappily broken out in their church, spent most of his Epistle to them in guarding them against the sins of pride and contention, as the apostle Paul had done in both his Epistles to them, knowing that these were the roots whence their schism grew, and all schisms do grow; and that if they could once return from their pride into the frame of a meek and truly humble spirit, their schism would soon wither and decay. This is the most effectual method to strike at the root of a disease; without this there can be no thorough cure.

This is the method I have chose in the subject I have undertaken: to make my entrance with some considerations concerning that trust and dependence which we ought to have in God; the want of which is the root of all covetousness, which is therefore called *idolatry*, because it transfers our trust from God to Mammon. And covetousness is so the root of sacrilege, that, as no man would rob God for nought, so can none return from his sacrilege till he

is cured of that covetousness which caused it. And covetousness cannot be cured while we are possessed with that distrust of God which naturally leads to covetousness, and is the cause of it. And while we remain in that frame no arguments can prevail, or charms have power over such an adder as is deaf to every thing but gain.

Therefore I have begun at the root. And let no reader think this subject of trust in God (because it is so common) unworthy of his consideration; for none upon earth have it as they ought to have, and we are to increase in it, and that must be by often meditation upon it; which, by the grace of God, (without which we can do nothing,) is the most effectual means to strengthen ourselves in it. However, it is necessary to the business I am now upon. And to offend those as little as may be, who may think it a needless preparative, I have been very short upon it, and afforded them rather hints and heads of meditation, than a discourse suited to the import of the subject.

SECT. I.

Of trust in God.

WHEN God created man, he instituted a worship which he commanded man to pay to him, as his Creator; not that he wanted any thing from man, but for the happiness of man; because the supreme happiness of man does consist in the knowledge and enjoyment of God.

And the greatest misery man can fall into is, to forsake God, and seek for happiness any where else; because so he must seek it where it is not to be found.

The great worship of God is our trust and dependence upon him, as the sovereign Disposer of all things in heaven and on earth.

But this must be expressed, not only with our lips, but in our actions.

And if we did really believe it, we would be as ready to trust to it where life or estate were concerned, as in the smallest matters.

But because many may think they have it, when they have it not:

And that this trust and absolute dependence upon God is apt, in our weak minds, to decay and die, unless it be stirred up and kept alive by frequent instances, and fresh experiments of God's power and protection over us:

For want of which (and by the looseness of our lives) men are brought to look only, or chiefly, to second causes, and to trust in them:

Therefore God, in his all-wise dispensations, has required from us continual proofs of our dependence upon him, even as to our subsistence, and the very necessaries of our life.

I. Thus he commanded Abram to quit his country and his father's house, and all his relations and acquaintance, and to travel into a strange country, where he gave him none inheritance, no, not so much Acts vii. 5. as to set his foot on, but to depend wholly upon his providence to support him: and so he lived, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs, as strangers and pilgrims upon the earth.

Heb. xi. 13.

II. He led the children of Israel through a waste and barren wilderness, where for forty years together he fed them with manna from heaven, and brought water out of the flinty rock, that he might Deutsiii.3.

we shall not sow, nor gather in our increase. And the answer is given in the next verses; Then I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall bring forth fruit for three years. And ye shall sow the eighth year, and eat yet of old fruit until the ninth year; until her fruits come in ye shall eat of the old store.

And to this they were to trust their very lives; they were to starve if it failed.

But if they should trust entirely to these promises of God, then God assures them of his blessing for it, (ver. 18 and 19,) both to protect their land from their enemies, and to feed them to the full in it: Wherefore ye shall do my statutes, and keep my judgments, and do them; and ye shall dwell in the land in safety: and the land shall yield her fruit, and ye shall eat your fill, and dwell therein in safety.

But, on the other hand, if they would not trust absolutely to God, then God threatens them that the second causes shall not help them, wherein they trusted; but that he can command all the courses of nature, and to their punishment if they disobey, as well as to their benefit if they trust in God.

If they should refuse or neglect to keep the sabbatical year, then God threatens them that he would banish them out of the land, and that the land should enjoy her sabbaths, that is, rest from being ploughed or sowed, when they were out of it, since they durst not trust so far in God, as to let her have that rest he commanded while they were in it. Thus God spake to them, Then shall the land enjoy her sabbaths, as long as it lieth desolate, and ye be in your enemy's land; even then shall the land rest and

Lev. xxvi. 34, 35. enjoy her sabbaths. As long as it lieth desolate it shall rest; because it did not rest in your sabbaths, when ye dwelt upon it. And again, ver. 43, The land also shall be left of them, and shall enjoy her sabbaths, while she lieth desolate without them: and they shall accept of the punishment of their iniquity: because, even because they despised my judgments, and because their soul abhorred my statutes.

Now it is very observable how exactly this threatening (or prophecy) was fulfilled upon the Jews.

They had neglected to observe the sabbatical year for four hundred and ninety years, in which time there are seventy sabbatical or seventh years; and the captivity in Babylon was by God determined to that exact number of seventy years, on purpose to fulfil this his threatening, as it is written, To fulfil 2 Chron. the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, (by whom God had after threatened the same,) until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths: for as long as she lay desolate she kept sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years.

III. Another great instance of their dependence upon God, was their years of jubilee and release.

1. In their year of jubilee, which was every fiftieth year, all sales of lands were determined, and the land reverted to the seller: and the reason is given, The land shall not be sold for ever: for the Lev. xxv. land is mine, (says God,) for ye are strangers and ²³-sojourners with me.

We are but tenants at will, and are to look upon nothing in this world as our inheritance; God only is the Proprietor, and hath given us but an usufructuary tenure to live upon his land, but not to think it our own. 2. But the year of release was yet a greater trial of their dependence upon God: this was every seventh year; and in this year all personal debts were discharged, and all the Hebrew bondmen were set at liberty: not only set at liberty, but it is commanded, And when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him go away empty: thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and out of thy wine-press: of that wherewith the Lord thy God hath blessed thee thou shalt give unto him——And, It shall not seem hard unto thee, when thou sendest him away free from thee; for the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all that thou doest.

The like reason is given for the release of debts; which is required ver. 1 and 2; At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release. And this is the manner of the release: Every creditor that lendeth ought unto his neighbour shall release it; he shall not exact it of his neighbour, or of his brother; because it is called the Lord's release. Now from reading of this law the thought naturally arises, that it would be ill borrowing of money the sixth year: but that is obviated ver. 9, &c. where it is again commanded in these words, Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand; and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nought; and he cry unto the Lord against thee, and it be sin unto thee. Thou shalt surely give him, and thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him: because that for this thing the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy works, and in all that thou puttest thine hand unto. For the

Deut. xv. 13, &c. poor shall never cease out of the land: therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt open thine hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy, in the land. And ver. 8, Thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need, in that which he wanteth.

3. And no use was to be taken for any money so lent, nor any pledge taken for it; or if taken, to be restored before the going down of the sun.

If the man be poor, thou shalt not sleep with Deut.xxiv. his pledge: in any case thou shalt deliver him the 12, 13. pledge again when the sun goeth down.

If thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay Lev. xxv. with thee; then thou shalt relieve him: yea, though 35, &c. he be stranger, or a sojourner; that he may live with thee. Take thou no usury of him, or increase—

Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase.

And the sanction given to this law is, (ver. 36,) Fear thy God. They were to trust absolutely in God, in his blessing upon their labours; and therefore to fear lest they should, through any act of covetousness, argue the least distrust in him, or to think that such acts of high charity, and trust in God, and his blessing upon their obedience to his commands, would not yield them greater increase than their usury, or any human methods could be devised.

IV. As God required our absolute dependence upon him, as to necessaries of life, and protection from our enemies, in the instances before told; so, to shew further that it was not our own endeavours to which we owed our preservation, he reserved to

himself great portions of our time to be abstracted from all worldly business, and employed wholly in his immediate service and worship. 1. The stated hours of prayer, three times every day, (Dan. vi. 10: Psal. lv. 17.) The more devout extended it to seven times a day, (Psalm exix. 164.) Then there was a morning and evening sacrifice every day. 2. The weekly sabbath, or every seventh day. 3. The feast of weeks, after seven weeks, or sabbaths, (Lev. xxiii. 15; Deut. xvi. 9.) 4. The feast of every seventh month, which lasted for seven days together. (Lev. xxiii. 34, 36.) 5. Every seventh year, (before spoke of.) 6. The jubilee, after seven of the sabbatical years, i. e. after forty-nine years. Here we have a sabbath of seven hours, days, weeks, months, years, and of seven times seven years. All these multiplications of sabbaths.

And besides all these, there were many other feasts, (Lev. xxiii.) both anniversary and occasional, which I stay not to enumerate, because I hasten to my designed scope, that of tithes.

As God required a weekly seventh part of our time, besides many other monthly and yearly feasts and fasts; so has he, for the same reason, (to teach us to trust and depend upon him for all that we have or expect,) required from us (as will be shewn) a constant tenth part of our substance, as a yearly tribute; besides many other offerings, sacrifices, charities to the poor, and occasional expenses, which he did oblige us to in his service, for a constant and daily exercise of our faith in him; without which it would decay, and at last die, as a body without daily food.

It is said, that the just do live by faith; and that Rom. i. 17. they grow from faith to faith: which supposes a daily increase and daily nourishment.

Men cannot live long upon one meal, though never so plentiful; and a man is not said to live upon a dainty which he but seldom tastes. What a man lives upon is his daily food; and the just could not be said to live by faith, if they exerted only now and then some one heroical act of faith; as Abraham's sacrificing his son, and the like.

Nay, they could not shew such extraordinary strength of faith upon some particular occasions, if they did not daily feed upon it, and improve it. Such gigantic faith grows not all at once; and the spiritual as well as bodily activity is not improved without constant exercise; that is it which makes perfect in thoughts as well as actions, in faith, in love, in every thing. A giant refreshed with wine shews miracles of strength; but one draught of wine gave him not that strength, only stirred it up. So, upon some great emergencies, our faith is stirred up, like Samson, to rouse itself.

But we must learn to fight before we come to the battle: if we have not a habit of faith, we can never exert great acts; and habits cannot be acquired without often repeated acts. To this end were tithes and sabbaths instituted, to use us to frequent and daily acts of faith; and till we are well used to these, we can never rise to higher. Therefore we see how necessary it is to us to improve these small acts of our faith and trust in God; for without greater, we shall hardly arrive at heaven.

And for this reason all this that I have said by way of introduction has not been unnecessary, nor foreign to the subject in hand; for when I consider that the chief argument against tithes is thinking them too much to give to God, and proceeds from a diffidence in him, and a trusting to second means for our wealth and prosperity, it was necessary to prepare the way, by shewing how great a dependence God has all along required from us upon himself; and that our wealth and health, and all even worldly prosperity, is more to be attained by observance of his commands, than by our own endeavours or craft; for that it is only his blessing which maketh increase, and giveth success to whatever second means: all which was wonderfully exemplified to us in the insensible multiplication of a few loaves and fishes, by the blessing of our Saviour, to feed many thousands. And it is such a blessing of God upon our honest endeavours which gives us increase, and that in every thing, in all and every circumstance of our lives, though we perceive it not, but think foolishly that all is the effect of our own industry and wit; and we sacrifice to our net, (as the prophet speaks, Habbak, i. 16,) to those second means by which our portion is fat, and our meat plenteous.

And this disease and blindness is so rooted in mankind, that there is nothing in the world so hard to overcome, though nothing be so necessary.

I say, whoever considers this, will think that this preparative was not without cause; and will excuse me to enforce this yet somewhat further, but very briefly.

SECT. II.

Judgments upon distrust.

I WILL therefore only add a few instances of God's judgments upon our distrust of him in those things which he has commanded us.

1. He grievously punished the Israelites murmuring for want of water, even when they were ready to perish for thirst in a waste wilderness, where, without a miracle, there was none to be had: and their several other provocations in distrusting his power, though in their greatest extremities; of which there is an admirable recapitulation in Psalm lxxviii. where, ver. 41, the height of their sin is summed up in limiting the Holy One of Israel, stinting his power, as if any thing were too hard for him, and not trusting wholly and absolutely to it in all and every case wherein he has commanded it, how desperate and impossible soever it should appear.

And this sin is brought down to us, and this very example proposed to us, 1 Cor. x. 10, and all these passages of the Israelites shewn to belong to us, and to have happened unto them for examples to us; and that they were written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come, ver. 11.

2. Now this sin of which I speak, was a fearfulness and mistrust in the power or promises of God, of which you may read the full account in Numbers, chap. xiii. and xiv. Ten of the twelve spies who were sent to search out the land of Canaan were discouraged, because of the mighty giants which they saw there, and the strength of their highwalled towns: and upon their report the people

also lost their courage, and were afraid to go up against them; which so provoked the Lord, that he struck these ten spies dead upon the spot, and pronounced so heavy a curse upon the whole congregation, that he kept them thirty-nine years after in the wilderness, till all that whole generation were dead, (except only the two courageous and believing spies,) and their children he brought into the land: nay, he had destroyed them, children and all, and raised of Moses a greater nation than they, had not Moses strongly interceded for them. And it is observable that Moses fasted and prayed as long, (that is, forty days,) to atone for this sin, as for the idolatry of the golden calf, (Deut. ix, 25,) to shew that this sin of distrust in God is as beinous as that of idolatry itself, and, no doubt, is the reason that co-Ephes. v. 5. vetousness is called *idolatry*: for the covetous man is he that trusts in his riches; and trust being the highest act of worship, consequently we make that our God wherein we trust.

SECT. III.

Of trust in riches.

1 HOW hard is it not to trust in riches! and it is very easily known when we do so: for while we have that wherein we trust, our heart is at rest, and we fear not: but when we want that wherein our trust is, we faint, and are discouraged. Now, who is not discouraged, and fears want, when he has no money? and whose heart is not lifted up, and thinks himself secure, when he has money enough? Who is not apt to sing the rich man's requiem, Thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry. This made our

Luke xii.

Saviour pronounce it as impossible for those who trust in riches to enter into the kingdom of God, as Mark x. 24. for a camel to go through the eye of a needle. Indeed it is impossible for any who trust in their riches, and look from them for peace, health, and happiness, so much as to understand or have the least notion of the kingdom, that is, the power and government of God over all things; because that whoever had a just and true apprehension of the sovereign power of the Almighty, must see that all second causes were so absolutely in his hands, as that they had no force or virtue at all but what he gave them; and therefore that there was no trust or dependence at all upon any of them, or all together, but upon their high and irresistible Disposer alone.

Alone: for if they receive all their virtue from him, it is his power alone, not his and theirs together; and he will not give his glory to another: Isaiah xlii. he must have all our heart, or none; therefore he said, Ye cannot serve God and mammon. He is a Matt vi. jealous God, and will admit of no rivals.

2. But this is for our good, not that he wants our poor service; for if we bring any thing else to rival him in our hearts, it is our own misery; and if we place our love and dependence upon any thing else than God, we are sure to be disappointed, because nothing else can afford any satisfaction, not only against his will, but there is nothing that has any desirable or profitable quality but what is received from God, not only at first when he made it, but every minute that he conserves it; without which it would immediately fall into its first nothing. So that not only he who seeks to be happy against

God's will in a direct manner, by sinning presumptuously, and, as it were, entering the lists against him, plundering, and stealing, and killing, to get riches, is greatly mistaken when he thinks that the riches which he has so acquired, and wherein he takes delight, have in themselves any virtue or beauty: but God gives it them, and gives them to him for his greater punishment, and the greatest of all judgments, to give us leave to stray from God, and set up our rest in what must fail us, and leave us miserable for ever: I say, this is not only the case of those open and professed sinners before spoke Psal. x. 3. of, who provoke God to his face, but likewise of all the covetous, whom God abhorreth: of all who trust in their riches, and depend not absolutely and solely upon God for their daily bread, for all the necessaries and comforts of life, and for every thing else, as well in relation to this world as that which is to come.

> Of all the principalities in hell, there is none like mammon, who dare rival God to his face; there is none who has rebelled with that success, and made such havoc of the souls of men.

> Therefore God has from the beginning guarded us with greatest caution against this devil. He has commanded him to be sacrificed upon his altar, and made that a part of the worship of God.

SECT. IV.

That some part of our substance is due to God, as an act of worship.

1. WE are not only to worship God with our lips, and give him praises with our tongue, which is but an inferior and contemplative worship; but

he has required that we should pay him an active Prov. iii. 9. Ecclus. xxv. 8.

This is a necessary part of that glory which we must give to God, and as much preferable to verbal praises as deeds are more than words. The Psalmist describes this plainly, Psalm xcvi. 8, Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name; or, the glory of his name, as our margin reads it. What is that glory? The next words shew it, Bring an offering, and come into his courts.

Hence that command is so often repeated, that Exod.xxiii. none should appear empty before the Lord. $^{15. \text{ xxxii}}$.

When we approach to worship God, we must sa-16, 17. crifice more or less of our mammon before him, to shew that we depend upon God for our whole subsistence, and that mammon is not that God; but we offer him up as a sacrifice to another God, to a greater than he.

I will not offer unto the Lord my God, said Da-2 Sam. vid, of that which doth cost me nothing.

But I will not labour this point further, because I suppose that I shall have none to oppose me.

For all Christians do grant that some part of our substance is due to God: nay, this is a notion wherein all mankind do agree, and have done at all times since the beginning of the world. No nation was ever so barbarous, that did not sacrifice to some god or other. And though the outward typical bloody sacrifices have ceased among Christians, since Christ, the true and only propitiatory sacrifice, offered his own blood for us upon the cross; yet I hope there is not any Christian to be found who thinks that we are therefore released from the command of honouring the Lord with our substance, and dis-

posing of some part of our money, though not in beasts for sacrifice, yet in the service of God, which never did consist wholly in the sacrifice of beasts. There are, and ever were, other parts of his worship, and from which we are not released; for, as Irenæus proves, (Advers, Hæres, lib. IV. c. 34.) there are offerings and sacrifices under the Gospel, as well as under the Law, that the command is not abolished. only the species of some are changed.

It being therefore granted that some part of our substance is due to God, let us proceed to inquire what that part is, or whether God has left us wholly at loose, to give what part we please, and in what manner we think fit.

2. This being a part of God's worship, it cannot be paid after our fancies, but as God has appointed it.

To give alms to a poor man is an act of charity, and commanded by God; but it is not a direct act of worship or devotion. Every good act we do, whether of mercy or justice, or any other morality, is, and may be construed, consequentially, to be a worship of God, as being done in obedience to his command: and thus every act of our life may be counted an act of worship, because whether we eat or drink, or whatever we do, we are commanded to do all to the glory of God. But all these acts have ever been distinguished from the acts of direct worship, which are to be regulated strictly according to the positive command of God in scripture; from Deut.v. 32 which we must not depart, either to the right hand or to the left, neither to add to it, or diminish from it.

But in general actions of morality we are left to

2 Cor. x.

xii. 32.

the general guidance of our own reason, according to the general directions of the scripture, and the ordinary assistances of the Holy Spirit, and to the performance of which, general promises are annexed.

But in the more direct acts of worship, which are all commanded by revelation, we are limited precisely to what is so revealed; and there are particular and peculiar promises annexed to the performance, and a more than ordinary assistance and participation of the Holy Spirit of God.

Therefore, what part of our substance God has reserved as a part of his worship, is not to be reckoned among bare acts of charity, but must be offered in such manner and method as he has commanded.

This being premised, we will now see whether any determinate quantum of our estates has been reserved by God, as sacred to himself.

SECT. V.

Of the determinate number of a tenth under the Law.

THE Cabalists make many mysteries in this number: it is the completion of all single numbers, and the first number of increase, by which all nations do multiply; and therefore there seems to be even some natural aptitude in this number beyond that of any other, which forces all mankind, without concerting, to multiply by it: and being thus, in many respects, the most perfect of numbers, the first and last of numbers comprehending all single numbers, and multiplying them in infinitum; it seems the most fit and proper number wherein to pay our tribute to God, who is the first and the last,

and multiplies all we have unto us; by this, acknowledging that all we enjoy and all our increase is his, and comes from him.

There are cabalisms upon this number, as to the Decalogue, comprehending all duty; and the ten candlesticks in the temple, (1 Kings vii. 49,) representing the ten severities and mercies (as they reckon them) of God; and the holy seed is called a tenth, Isa. vi. 13. They tell us that there is a mythology, not only in the quantum or number of the tithe, but in the manner of its payment, viz. the people were to pay the tenth to the Levites, and the Levites the tenth of their tenth to the high priest. They say that the people do represent the corporeal part of man, the Levites the animal, and the high priest the spiritual, which is the highest: and that as the people fed the Levites, by paying their tithe to them, and the Levites in the same manner fed the high priest; so in man the corporeal part feeds the animal, and the animal feeds the spiritual. But I leave these allusions; and whatever truth there may be in them, yet I lay no stress of my present argument upon them: I inquire not now after tithes upon account of the reasons, either natural or cabalistical, for the fitness of that number above any other; but I desire to follow matter of fact, and see what God has appointed; for if that can be found out, it determines our obedience more positively and certainly, than a thousand conjectures or contrivances of our own.

Let me only observe, that ten being the utmost number, it is the least proportion that could be reserved; for nine would be a greater proportion of our goods, and eight a greater than that, &c. But now to follow the clew of matter of fact, by which I intend to determine this cause of tithe; it is in the first place very evident that a tenth part of all increase was reserved as such under the law; and that it was to be offered to the priests, not only as a maintenance to them, but as an offering unto the Lord, in the same nature as other offerings and sacrifices: The tithes of the children of Israel, Num. xviii. which they offer as an heave-offering unto the Lord. 24.

All the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of Leviticus the land, or of the fruit of the trees, is the Lord's: xxvii. 30. it is holy unto the Lord.

Thither shall ye bring your burnt-offerings, and Deut. xii. your sacrifices, and your tithes, and heave-offerings ⁶ of your hands, and your vows, and your freewill offerings, and the firstlings of your herds and of your flocks.

Here the tithes are reckoned in the same rank with the sacrifices and other offerings, and vows, as holy unto the Lord: as they are again, Deut. xxvi. 13, where they are called the hallowed things. And hence the substraction of tithes is called a robbing of God, and that equally with the substracting of the other offerings of the Lord.

Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me. Mal iii. 8, But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In 9. tithes and offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse: for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation.

SECT. VI.

A tenth required before the Law, shewn in Abram and Jacob.

BUT now it remains to be known whether this was a particular institution only to the Jews under

the law, or whether it had a more ancient rise, and how ancient.

Gen. xiv.

That it was before the law, it is evident from the 20.
Gen xxviii example of Abram, who paid tithes to Melchisedec, and of Jacob, who vowed his tithes to God.

> I. But there are objections against these two instances. 1. As to Melchisedec. It is said, that the tenth part which Abram gave to Melchisedec was not any thing that was due to Melchisedec, nor given to him under the notion of tithe, nor to him as he was a priest; but that it was only a voluntary boon or gratuity which Abram gave to him, and that it might have been an eighth, a ninth, a twelfth, a fifteenth, or any other part Abram had pleased.

> Ans. All this pretence is overthrown by what is said in the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where, ver. 4, the apostle argues the greatness of Melchisedec above Abram, from Abram's paying of tithes to him. Now consider, saith the text, how great this man was, unto whom even the patriarch Abram gave the tenth of the spoils. But if it had been only a gratuity or free gift from Abram, it would have argued the greatness of Abram above Melchisedec; for the giver is greater than the receiver.

> But when any thing is paid as a tribute or a rent due, it argues the greatness of the receiver above that of the payer. And therefore, unless Abram paid his tithe to Melchisedec as a tribute due to him, the apostle's argument is so far from being conclusive, that it operates quite contrary to that inference which the apostle made from it, and proves the greatness of Abram above Melchisedec; where

as the apostle in this verse, and ver. 7, puts it without all contradiction, that Abram was the less, and Melchisedec the greater and the better.

And this was not a personal comparison betwixt them; but the preference given to Melchisedec was in respect of his character, because he was a priest, whose office it was to bless in the name of the Lord. Thence St. Paul argues, that without all contradiction the less is blessed of the better.

Again, ver. 9, the apostle argues the preference of the Melchisedecal priesthood before that of Levi, because Levi in his father Abram paid tithes to Melchisedec.

Here, 1, it is established, that those who receive tithes are greater, and of higher dignity, than those who pay the tithes to them.

2. It is hence made manifest, that the tithe which Abram paid to Melchisedec was paid in the true notion of tithe, as tithe, and a tribute which was due to Melchisedec, as he was priest of the most high God. For if it had not been paid as tithe, how could Levi have been said to have paid tithes in Abram?

And the word is observable, ver. 6, δεδεκάτωκε, that is, Melchisedec *tithed* Abram, i. e. put him under tithe, or exacted it from him as his due. The Vulgar translates it, *Decimas sumpsit ab Abram*; "he took tithes from Abram."

3. And because it was part of the priest's office to receive the Lord's tithe, a receiver of tithe and a priest are terms synonymous. Thus in this same chapter, Heb. vii, it is said, ver. 8, Here men that die receive tithe; (that is, under the law the priests were mortal, and therefore there was a necessity of

their succeeding one another;) but there (that is, in the case of Christ typified by Melchisedec) he (i. e. Christ) receiveth them (tithes) of whom it is witnessed that he liveth; i. e. liveth for ever, and so is not to be succeeded by any other high priest: and he ever liveth to receive our tithe for ever, that is, for ever to be our high priest; for a priest, and a receiver of tithe, are here made to be the same. He (Christ) receiveth them, (the tithes,) that is, in the language of this text, He (Christ) is our priest.

And in repeating the same thing over again, ver. 23, the word priests is put for those who are called receivers of tithe in the 8th verse; for, speaking of the mortality of the high priests of the tribe of Levi, it is expressed thus in ver. 8, Here men that die receive tithes: and ver. 23 it is thus worded, They were many priests, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of death. And then when in the comparison the eternity of the priesthood of Christ is set forth, it is said, ver. 24, because he continueth ever, he hath an unchangeable priesthood; which is expressed, ver. 8, by saying, that he ever liveth to receive tithes, which is the same as being a priest, as the text runs; but there he (Christ) receiveth them (tithes) of whom it is witnessed that he liveth.

So that as a *sucrificer* and a *priest* are the same, because none have a right to sacrifice but the priests, a receiver of tithes is as synonymous to a priest, for the same reason, because none other but the priests only have any right or title to receive the tithes of God; for, as before said, tithes are part of the offerings to God, part of his worship, and therefore to be

paid as such into the hands of his priests only, as all other of his offerings and sacrifices were.

This shews the folly of those who would have these tithes paid to Melchisedec as king, and not as priest; because he is called *king of Salem*, as well as *priest of the most high God*.

Answ. 1. The argument of the apostle, Heb. vii, runs wholly upon his priesthood, and drawing a parallel betwixt his priesthood and that of Aaron; and shews that our Saviour was a priest of his order, which was a superior priesthood to the Levitical. He does not say that Christ was a king, but a priest after the order of Melchisedec.

And how did Levi in Abram pay tithes to the king of Salem? Did this make all the posterity of Abram, the whole nation of the Jews, subjects or tributaries to a foreign king? And why is it said that Levi paid tithes more than any other of the posterity of Abram?

It is plain that a comparison was here made betwixt the two priesthoods, that of Melchisedec and that of Levi. And Levi's paying tithes to Melchisedec is brought as an argument that the priesthood of Melchisedec was superior: for without all contradiction (says the apostle) the less is blessed of the better. And thence infers, that Melchisedec was greater than Abram, whom he blessed; which could not be, if he blessed him only as a king, that is, wished well to him, or prayed for him, for that an inferior may do to his superior; but to bless in the name of God, and by virtue of his office, belongs to priests, and not to kings. And of such blessing the apostle here speaks, and argues from it; which is no argument, nor sense, if it be not thus understood.

It is true, that originally the priesthood was joined with the regal power, and kings were priests, as Melchisedec here: and we have many later instances in other nations of the same. Whence arose that mistake in some, that tithes were paid to kings as kings, not considering that this was a tribute paid to them as priests. And if kings have preserved a tenth to themselves out of lands they gave to their subjects, as any other landlord may do; or if kings exacted a tenth by way of tax, or such a tax was given to them; yet this is not the tithe of God, concerning which we now speak; for that being a sacrifice, was to be given only into the hands of the priests, it being part of our worship of God. And such was the tithe paid by Abram to Melchisedec: for how did he owe him that tribute as king of Salem? Or how was that an expression of Abram's thankfulness to God for the great victory he then obtained? Which paying the tithe of the spoils to God by the hands of his priest was: and the blessing of God, pronounced by the mouth of his priest, was his acceptance of it, and assurance of his favour to Abram.

II. Mr. a Selden endeavours to enervate this example of Abram, by criticising upon the word $\dot{\alpha}_{\kappa\rho\sigma}$. $\theta'_{\mu\nu\alpha}$, ver. 4, which is translated spoils: and thence would infer, that Abram gave to Melchisedec only the tithe of the spoils which he had taken.

Answ. If this criticism were just, it proves nothing but that spoils taken in war are tithable, as well as any profits gained by our labours in peace.

For the reason will hold stronger for the tithing of the increase of our fields, and other fruits of

a History of Tithes, c. 1. n. 1.

peace; and they were more generally paid, and more expressly reserved, than the tithes of the spoils of war; though the tithes of spoils were paid, and acknowledged as due to God, even by the heathens themselves, as shall be shewn in its place.

Therefore this criticism of Mr. Selden's, instead of an objection, does more strongly enforce the obligation of tithes, and extends them further than if the word ἀκροθίνια were suffered to mean, what it truly does, the firstfruits, the choicest and best parts. It signifies literally the tops of heaps; which being generally the best and choicest part of the heaps, were taken for the firstfruits or tenths due to God, of whatever sort, and not only the tenth of spoils: for Suidas tells us, that it means the tenth of the product of the field, and of merchandise, as well as of spoils; the etymology, or common acceptation of the word in the Greek authors, having no relation at all to spoils, but much rather to the gathering in of the harvest, where the sheaves and corn are put in heaps, and the tithe taken from the top, or best of the heaps; or (as Suidas gives another etymology of the word) to the heaps of merchants' goods, upon the sea-shore, when they are imported, out of which the tithe was taken, as of the product of the fields. But in no acceptation of the word ἀκροθίνια has it any sort of relation to spoils, more than to any other tithable thing; nor indeed so much: it is applied to spoils only in a secondary and borrowed sense; but, in the primary and most usual acceptation of the word, it is understood of tithes. But of spoils, Mr. Selden confesses, that elsewhere (than in this text) it rarely occurs in this sense.

Nor can it be restrained only to the tithe of spoils

in this chapter, Heb. vii. For it is said, ver. 2, that Abram gave to Melchisedec a tenth part, and πάντων, of all: and this is before any mention was made of the tithe of the spoils, only in the general description of Melchisedec and Abram. That of the spoils comes in afterwards, as a particular instance, ver. 4, and cannot by any necessity of construction limit the ἀπὸ πάντων of all things in ver. 2, of which it is said that Abram gave the tithe to Melchisedec. Though, if it did, it would (as before has been said) only prove that tithes were due out of spoils; but not that they were not due out of other things. And the universal custom of paying tithes out of other things, as well among the Gentiles as the Jews, (which will be shewn,) is sufficiently convincing, that nothing which can be inferred from the text above quoted, can limit the payment of tithes only to that of spoils taken in war.

Mr. Selden himself confesses, that ἀκροδίνια "sig-"nifieth also firstfruits, or the chiefest parts, sacred "to the gods among the Gentiles," says he, "and ἐκ "τῶν ἀκροδινίων hath in that sense been turned here "by de præcipuis in the Vulgar." Thus he.

Here is a great authority which he does not answer; that the payment of tithes mentioned in this text cannot be limited to that of spoils only: for in the Vulgar there is no mention at all made of spoils; but the word ἀκρεθίνια, which the English renders spoils, is more literally translated de præcipuis, i. e. "of the chief," or "principal." In which sense the text runs thus; that Abram gave to Melchisedec the tithe of the chief and principal things, or out of the chief and principal parts. And Mr. Selden con-

fesses that the Greek word akpobina does very well bear this interpretation. Only he makes this objection against the sense of the text, as rendered by the Vulgar, "Can it be thought," says he, "that he " gave tithes of the best parts only? How stands "that with giving tithes of all?" Very well; i. e. by giving tithes of all out of the best parts, which was the custom: and it was thought a neglect of God to pay his tithe out of the worst parts, and not out of the very best. And Mr. Selden owns that the Syriac and Arabic translations of Heb. vii. 2. are expressly so; i. e. that Abram gave Melchisedec the tithe, not only of the spoils, but of all that he had: and that this was the ordinary gloss of Solomon Jarchi, upon these words in Gen. xiv. 20. Against all which he opposes, that Josephus and the Targum of Jonathan Ben-Uzziel say, that Abram gave to Melchisedec the tithe of the spoils.

But this is no contradiction to the other: for if he gave him tithes of *all that he had*, he gave the tithe of the spoils likewise.

III. Mr. Selden (c. I. n. 2.) squints an objection against Abram and Jacob's paying tithe, as supposing them to be priests. He supposes Melchisedec to have been Sem, and consequently an elder, and a superior priest to Abram. But perhaps he thought it inconsistent for one priest to pay tithe to another priest, though of a superior order: and hence would not have it thought that Abram paid tithe, though he gave a tenth part; i. e. that he did not give it under the notion of tithe, or a tribute due to Melchisedec, as his superior.

But the superiority of Melchisedec above Abram is largely argued, Heb. vii. And under the law,

Numb. xviii. 26, the Levites were to pay a tenth of their tithe to the high priest. And if, in this sense, Abram (upon Mr. Selden's supposition) paid tithe to Melchisedec, then δεκάτην τῶν ἀκροθινίων, Heb. vii. 4, is literally "the tenth of the tithe;" for ἀκροθίνια, as before observed, signifies "tithe:" and so rarely does it signify "spoils," that, except in this text, (if it be so meant there.) Mr. Selden can find but one instance amongst the Greek authors where it is taken for "spoils;" at least this must be granted, that "spoils" is but a strained and very unusual signification of the word. And Abram, supposing him a priest, paying tithe to Melchisedec, argues the superiority of the priesthood of Melchisedec: after which order of priesthood, and not after the order either of Abraham or Aaron, our Lord Christ was consecrated. And this will infer all that the apostle argues from Abram's payment of tithes to Melchisedec, Heb. vii, as much as if Abram were then a layman.

And he might then be a layman, though he were a priest afterwards; for he was then only *Abram*; it was before the covenant God made with him, and the alteration thereupon of his name into *Abraham*, Gen. xvii; whereby he was constituted the father of the many nations of the faithful to come. But these things concern not our present inquiry; therefore let us proceed.

Gen. xxviii. IV. The second instance above mentioned for tithes is that of Jacob, against which it was objected, that this was only a vow.

Jacob.

Answ. It was a vow; but not therefore only a vow. Men often, and most commonly, vow that which is their duty to do, without respect to the

vow; as, to vow to serve God more faithfully than we have done before. Thus, in this same vow of Jacob's, he vows that the Lord shall be his God. Will any say that the Lord was not his God before?

And, indeed, this of dedicating the tithe to God was no more than a further declaration that the Lord was his God; because offering of tithe was a part of the worship of God. And therefore Jacob did by this declare that the Lord only shall be his God, because he would offer his tithe only unto him.

It was the custom of the nations among the heathen to offer their tithes to the god whom they adored; and therefore some offered their tithes to one, and some to another, of their false gods: but Jacob here vows to the only true God, that he only shall be his God, and that he will offer his tithes to none other God but to him alone.

For to whom we dedicate the tithe, we acknowledge to have received the other nine parts from him; of which the offering of the tenth is a solemn acknowledgment.

And the vowing or dedicating them, though due before, was customary with the Jews as well as the heathen; for so it is commanded, Ecclus. xxxv. 9, Dedicate thy tithes with gladness. And none will say that they were not due among the Jews, even before their dedication of them.

SECT. VII.

That the Gentiles did pay tithes to their gods.

I. THE great opposer of tithes, the learned Mr. Selden, cannot deny this; but, in his History of

Tithes, cap. III, he endeavours to lessen this as much as he can, by offering some of his conjectures:

1. that they were paid only by particular vows;

2. not by any law enjoining them;

3. not generally;

4. not yearly;

5. only to some particular god, as, among the Romans, to Hercules, &c.;

6. only of some particular things, not of all our increase, of every sort.

In every one of which particulars he has been sufficiently confuted by several learned answers which have been made to that book of his. Dr. Comber, last of all, has collected these, and added to them; and put that matter, I think, past a reply.

But I intend not to trouble the reader with a repetition of any of these; because what Mr. Selden himself allows is abundantly sufficient to my present purpose, and indeed to confute himself in every one of these heads, to which I have reduced all his pretences, whereby he endeavours to invalidate the practice of the Gentiles from being a testimony to the divine right of tithes.

For however they paid their tithe, 1. whether of every thing, or only of some sorts of their increase; 2. whether to one or to more of their gods; 3. whether annually or occasionally; 4. whether generally, or only the devouter sort; 5. whether thereunto required by their municipal laws, or not; or, 6. whether with or without a particular vow: yet this remains uncontroverted, upon either side of these questions, that the notion of tithes, as being due unto some god or other, was received among the Gentiles, and that time out of mind; which is all the use I have at present to make of this custom or tradition

of the Gentiles: and of which I will shew the force in summing up the evidence.

In the mean time let me enlarge so far as to shew the reader how far Selden himself does yield the cause in all these captious questions which he puts in prejudice to the divine right of tithes.

II. But first I must obviate a mistake which may arise from the use of the word ἀπαρχαὶ, "first-fruits." For though, in the Levitical sense of the word, it is distinguished from the tithes, because there were particular first-fruits, distinct from the tithe, reserved in the Levitical law; yet, in the profane writings, first-fruits and tenths are generally understood to mean the same thing; because, as Mr. Selden confesses, (c. III. n. 3,) the first-fruits were paid in the proportion of a tenth part; and the tenths were paid out of the first-fruits or choicest of the whole; whence these terms of first-fruits and tenths became synonymous.

And though not always, yet often, they are taken to mean the same thing, even in the sacred writings. And the reason is this; there were two sorts of first-fruits under the law, of which the one was the tenth, and the other was not. The first sort we find, Levit. xxiii. 9, &c. where it is commanded, that at the reaping of their fields they should bring a sheaf or handful of the first of the harvest unto the priest, to be offered before the Lord; and before this was done, they were prohibited so much as to taste even of the green ears, ver. 14.

These are called the first of the first-fruits, Exod. xxxiv. 26: but when the full harvest was brought in, then the tenth part of the whole was taken out of the first or choicest parts; and before this tenth

was offered, it was not lawful for the owner to convert any of the nine parts to his own use. And therefore these tenths were the first-fruits of the harvest; first offered to God before any of the remainder could be disposed of, and which likewise consisted of the first or principal parts of the harvest. Thus the tenths were always first-fruits, but the first-fruits were not always tenths; though this second sort of first-fruits were always tenths. The præmessum or præmetium of the Romans before harvest, and their flori-festum after harvest, both dedicated to Ceres, do resemble these two sorts of first-fruits

But the first of the first-fruits were not paid out of all those things which were tithable; and in those cases the word first-fruits did express only the tenth. Thus the tenth of the tenth, which the Levites were to pay to the high-priest, is called by the name of first-fruits; and the meaning of that name is explained in the Vulgar translation of Numb. xviii. 26, Primitias offerte Domino, id est, decimam partem; i. e. "Offer to the Lord your first-fruits, "that is, the tenth part." And this tenth is called first-fruits in the Greek, anapyai, ver. 29, 30. In both which last verses our English renders it the best; and likewise the Vulgar, optima et electa: and the LXX mean the same by ἀπαρχαὶ, "first-"fruits;" for they being commanded to be given of the very best, hence the word first-fruits became likewise a term for the best and choicest things.

And that the heathen had the same notion of tithes and first-fruits being the same, Mr. Selden b does not conceal, but gives authority for it, and

b History of Tithes, c. 111. n. 3.

shews that their offerings to their gods were called $\delta \epsilon \kappa \alpha \tau \eta \phi \delta \rho \omega \ \delta \pi \alpha \rho \chi \omega \ \lambda$, that is, "first-fruits in tenths." A multitude of authorities for this might be given, but it will not be denied; and I hasten,

III. This being thus settled, I proceed to shew how far Mr. Selden has allowed the general notion of the Gentiles, (and not only of particular men, or some nations,) that the tithe was due unto their gods.

In his History of Tithes, c. III, he confesses it to Tithes a be the custom of the Gentiles to offer the tithe to custom of their gods, and gives several instances for example; the Gentiles of the Arabians and Phoenicians in Asia, among whom Melchisedec was both a king and a priest; the Carthaginians and Egyptians in Africa; and the Grecians and Romans in Europe. And, chap. x, n. 1, he brings it as far west as England, and shews it to have been the custom here, even amongst those who had not yet received Christianity; as of king Cedwalla, about the year 686, before he was a Christian, and others.

Pliny, in his Natural History, lib. XII. c. 14, witnesses of the Arabians, who paid tithe to their god Sabis; and, c. 19, of the Ethiopians, who paid their tithe to their god Assabinus: and this they observed so strictly, that it was not lawful for the merchants to buy or sell any of their goods till the priests had first taken out the tenth for their gods.

Plutarch, in the Life of Camillus, tells not only how religiously the Romans observed the payment of their tithes to their gods, but likewise that the same regard was had to them among the Liparians: for when, after Camillus's conquest of the city of Veies, the augurs had made report that the gods were greatly offended, (though for what they knew not,) which they found by the marks and observations they made of their sacrifices; and Camillus having informed the senate, that in the sacking of Veies the soldiers had taken the spoil without giving the tenth to the gods; and whereas the soldiers had most of them spent or disposed of what they had taken, the senate ordered every man to give in upon oath what he had got of the booty, and to pay a tenth of it, or the value, if it was spent, to the gods; and, besides this, a cup of gold of eight talents, to be sent to the temple of Apollo at Delphos, as a trespass-offering: towards which the women brought in their jewels and gold of their own freewill so readily, that the senate, in honour to them, gave them a privilege which before had been denied them, of having orations in their praise made at their funerals, which formerly had been allowed only to great and eminent men.

And they appointed three of the first quality in Rome to carry this present, with the tithes, in a triumphant manner to Delphos.

In the way they were taken, and made prize by the Liparians: but when brought to their city, and the governor understanding that so great a booty was tithes due to the gods, he not only restored it all, and sent them away with it, but gave them a convoy of his own ships to secure them in their voyage, though he was then at war with them.

The Greeks had the same notion of the divine right of tithes; which Xenophon tells us, and gives a remarkable instance of it, (de Exped. Cyr. lib. v.) that the Grecian army, which he conducted in that memorable retreat after the death of Cyrus, reserved

a tenth of the money they got upon their march by the sale of captives (notwithstanding their great distress) to be offered to Apollo and Diana; but Xenophon reserved the tithe of his share to be offered at Delphi and Ephesus. With this he built a temple to Diana, and bought lands wherewith to endow it, of which he paid the tithe to her; and near the temple set up a pillar, with this inscription; "Ground sacred to Diana. Whosoever pos- "sesseth it, let him pay the tithe of his yearly in- "crease; and out of the remainder maintain the "temple. If he neglect this, the goddess will re- "quire it."

Many more instances might be brought out of the Greek and Latin stories, but there is no need: for Mr. Selden owns it, not only as to these, but the Gentiles in general, as before quoted, c. I. n. 1. where he says, that the "first-fruits and chiefest " parts were sacred to the gods among the Gen-"tiles." See what has been said, n. 2, of first-fruits and tenths being the same; and that their offerings to their gods were called δεκατηφόροι ἀπαργαί, " first-"fruits in tenths;" which shews that the usual quantum of their offerings was a tenth, otherwise their offerings could not have got the name of that proportion more than of any other. But Mr. Selden does acknowledge this in the place above quoted, c. III. n. 3, that the offerings were so called, because they "were either the tenth, or given as in lieu of "so much." Therefore the tenth was the quantum which they thought was due to the gods. Mr. Selden, in his Review of chap. III, "But for the Gen-"tiles," says he, "it is true they were very devout "in giving of their yearly increase to the honour

" of their deities, according to the Attic law, θεοὺς "καρποῖς ἀγάλλειν, that is, 'to honour the gods with " their fruits:" which is almost literally Prov. iii. 9, Honour the Lord with thy substance, and with the first-fruits of all thine increase. That these firstfruits were tenths is said already. And this shews that it was a principle of the Gentiles as well as of the Jews.

Selden's objections.

1. That tithes were only by arbitrary yows.

IV. Mr. Selden would lessen the authority of this, by giving instances where several among the Gentiles did dedicate their tithe to their gods by a particular vow; and would infer from thence, that tithes were no otherwise thought due to the gods by the Gentiles, than as particular persons had obliged themselves by vow; which would oblige them to any other proportion, if they had vowed it.

But, 1, how came the tenth to be the common and received proportion which was vowed to the gods? and how came that so universal a tradition among the so far distant nations of the Gentiles? But of this I will make further use hereafter.

2. It always was and is customary to vow those things chiefly to which we are antecedently obliged: see before, sect. VI. n. 4.

3. Mr. Selden himself gives many instances which cannot be restrained only to the case of vows: nor can what I have above quoted out of him be limited to vows, or meant of them, with any sort of pretence; as, that the first-fruits were sacred to the gods among the Gentiles; and the Attic law, to honour God with our fruits. But vows are voluntary, and not imposed by law. He^c quotes out of Herodotus an instance, which shews the opinion of

c History of Tithes, c. 111. n. 3.

the Gentiles of the sacredness of tithes; which was so great, as to restrain the soldiers of Cyrus, in the heat of victory, from flying upon the spoil of the Lydians, only for being told that the tithe of the city must necessarily be first paid to Jupiter. How necessarily, if only by vow? Did the soldiers vow it in the heat of battle? He tells, ibid. n. 1, that the oracle directed the Pelasgi to give the tenth of their gain out of sea-merchandise to Apollo. This was not upon the obligation of a vow. And, n. 3, that there was an inscription at Delphi, "Οφρα Θεῶ δεκάτην άκροθίνιά τε κρεμάσαιμεν, "That we should hang up " our tithes and first-fruits to God." This was not to oblige men to vow their tithes, for vows are free. And in the same place he tells, that the offerings to Apollo were called tithes, because they were the tenth, or in lieu of the tenth. Now all offerings are not by vow; and therefore if tithes had only been by vow, they could not have included other offerings, which were not by vow. When I say, "not by " vow," I do not mean that the tithes might not be vowed, for that was customary, (as has been said;) but that the original obligation did not arise from the vow, which was only meant as a further tie to what was our duty before. Thus he mentions, n. 2, Cæsius, a merchant, who vowed his tenths every vear:

Omnibus hic annis, votorum more suorum.

And this was because they were due every year: of which more hereafter. N. 3, he shews that Juno had the tithe of all goods confiscate among the Athenians, which therefore were called emokerator: and that she gave to Priapus, a genius of war, the tithe of the spoils that Mars should gain in his

law among

victories. Was this a vow from Juno? and were goods confiscate vows? Diodorus Siculus (Hist. lib. v.) tells, that the Carthaginians being in great straits, did believe that that judgment had fallen upon them for having neglected, for some time, to pay the tithe of all their profits to Hercules, as they had used to do. Now if tithes were only voluntary. and only by vow, how came a temporary forbearance of them to be thought so great a sin? for we are not bound to vow at all, much less always. Porphyr., de Abstin. lib. II. §. 8. p. 56, tells from Hesiod how the gods destroyed an irreligious people called Thoes, because they did not pay their firstfruits as they ought. Now to suppose that they vowed it, and did not pay it, is arbitrary and groundless; and therefore it remains evident, that they thought the tithe due to their gods antecedent to any vow.

Mr. Selden, in the chapter before quoted, n. 5, relates an Arabian law, "wherein every merchant " was bound to give the tenth of his frankincense "to their god Sabis, which his priests received; " neither might any sale be made of it till that was " paid." Thus he. And it cannot be said that this was only by vow. The like is to be said of the Attic law, which Mr. Selden likewise mentions, and I have before quoted, θεούς καρποῖς ἀγάλλειν. But I have overproved this point: and what I have said will in effect satisfy the second of the objections which I have collected out of Mr. Selden against tithes: which is.

2d Obj. V. That tithes were only Control of the Control of Control V. That tithes were only voluntary among the

1. I have just now mentioned some laws, which

Mr. Selden himself has produced, enjoining tithes, the Genard that with such a penalty, as that the owner had tiles. not liberty to sell or dispose of any of his goods till the tithe was first taken out of them for the gods. And when the tithe was paid, then the remainder was thought sanctified to the use of the owner; but till then it was esteemed the greatest profanation and impiety to touch any thing of it, the whole being reputed as sacred to the gods, till by the offering of the tenth the rest were released to the use of the owners. And this notion was so general, as to occasion that proverbial description of a wicked person, $\delta\theta v \tau \alpha \ \delta v \ell \ell e v$, i. e. to eat of that which had not been sanctified by the gods having had their part first taken out of it.

2. But supposing there had been no municipal laws enjoining of tithes, the argument will come the stronger to my purpose, which is to shew this to have been a received tradition among the Gentiles: from whom they had it, is to be inquired afterwards. But if they thought the tithes so sacred to the gods, that they made conscience of paying them without the compulsion of any temporal law, this shews the notion which they had of tithes to be from an higher original than any municipal laws, and that they thought them to be due *jure divino*.

VI. The third objection is, that though tithes 3d Obj. That tithes were paid, and that very frequently, which Mr. Sel-were not den cannot deny, yet he would have you believe that paid genethey were not paid universally; and so would bring the notion of them no higher than the custom of this or that particular town or people.

And truly if, from the neglect of paying them, an argument can be brought against the use of them,

it will lie as severely against the Jews and Christians as against the heathen. For the Jews had so far neglected the payment of their tithe, that not only some particular persons, or a few of them, but Mal.iii.9. the whole nation was cursed for it. And amongst those who call themselves Christians, there are many, too many, who have lost the whole notion of them as any due or tribute to God; and therefore seize on them, and think them disposable by human laws, as any other goods or chattels.

> Insomuch that there remains greater footsteps of the divine right of tithes among the Gentiles, than is to be found at this day in many parts of Christendom.

> But how universal would Mr. Selden have the tradition of tithes among the Gentiles? He has owned it (as shewn above) in the Grecians and Romans, (each of whom were once almost the whole of the then known world,) in the Carthaginians and Phoenicians before them; among the Egyptians, Arabians, Ethiopians, and Gentiles of Britain, the remotest and most barbarous part esteemed of the world then. How much further would be have had this tradition carried?

> But though it was in all these nations of the world, yet he would have it that it was but with a few in these nations; and from this only reason that I can imagine, that you should suppose, notwithstanding there are many authorities in history of the general custom and laws for tithes, yet that they were paid by no more than those who happened to be named in history for payment of their tithe, though that be told only occasionally, to illustrate other occurrences; as if I should make an ar-

gument that none ever paid tithe in England, no, nor rent, whose names are not in history for paying of such rent or tithe.

How otherwise can Mr. Selden get off even from that degree of universality which himself is forced to allow, while he endeavours to lessen it all he can? It was so customary, that he confesses the tithes of Hercules among the Romans was a proverb to express dvast riches; then they were not a few who offered tithe to him. And among the Grecians, Apollo was called δεκατηφόρος, i. e. crowned with tithes, because of the great quantity of tithes which were offered unto him. And there were public inscriptions at Delphi sacred to him, commanding or exhorting to bring their tithes thither, i. e. rather than to another god; for they were at liberty to offer to what god they pleased.

Nay, this custom was so very general, that to tithe, $\delta \epsilon \kappa \alpha \tau \epsilon \tilde{\nu} \sigma \omega t$, was used to mean the consecrating of any thing to God: and for the same reason among the Romans the best and choicest parts were called *edecumata*; and *decumanum* meant the greatest and fairest, as *fluctus decumanus*, *scuta decumana*, *decima unda*, &c. because the tithes were paid of the best and choicest parts.

But Mr. Selden cannot deny the custom, (n. 1,) where, after giving particular instances, he says, "Thus in Italy the custom was to pay and vow "tithes to their deities, and continued in use till "the later times of the empire." And, (n. 4,) "That "the Grecians used to tithe their spoils of war to "the gods. " $\Sigma\theta_{05}$ $\tilde{\gamma}_{0}$ " $\Sigma\lambda\eta\nu\iota\kappa\delta\nu$ $\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\nu$ $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\nu\gamma\nu\nu\rho\iota\acute{\nu}\omega\nu$ "

d History of Tithes, c. 3. n. 1.

" τοῖς θεοῖς καθιεροῖν: It was a Greek custom to con-"secrate the tithe of their abundance or increase to "the gods." And, Mos erat Herculi decimam profanari among the Romans: "It was the cus-"tom to dedicate tithes to Hercules."

Mr. Selden having told all this, gives such an answer as could not have been expected from him. "It was a custom," says he, "some time." This is such a jest as they call a bull. If it was but some time, it was not a custom; for it is only the often doing of a thing that makes it a custom. But that may be a custom to a few men, which is not so to many men. And was it Mr. Selden's meaning that it was only a custom with a few men? No; he yields in the same place that " many men did so," says he; "the examples before taken out of story " make that plain." So that this is gained undeniably, that it was a custom, and that of many men in many nations of the Gentiles; which will be sufficient to the purpose for which I have produced it. Therefore I proceed no further in it at this time; but refer the reader, who desires a more thorough disquisition of this point, to the answers before mentioned to Mr. Selden's History of Tithes; where he will find authorities abundant and undoubted of the universality of this custom among the Gentiles. But Mr. Selden himself having afforded sufficient for the use I have to make of it, I choose to insist upon the concessions of this great enemy of tithes, that no reader may have any suspense as to the authorities produced. And now I proceed to the fourth objection.

4th Obj. VII. Mr. Selden, finding he could not resist, were not though he gainsayed the universal practice of the paid year-ly.

Gentiles in offering their tithe to their gods, seeks to weaken this authority by insinuating upon his readers that they were not paid yearly, only now and then, as people pleased to fancy, c. 3, n. 1.

But he gives no reason or authority for this: for indeed there was none to be given: nor can I imagine what (besides prejudice) could have prompted him to say this, (for I cannot think he did believe it,) unless it be that several are found who have vowed tenths to the gods upon particular emergencies, the gaining of a victory, a prosperous return to merchants by sea, or the like.

But this proves no more against annual tithe, than a tenant's making a present to his landlord over and above his yearly rent, in acknowledgment for some particular favour done him, is a proof that he paid no yearly rent.

Or, as before has been said, a man may vow the tenth which he owes, as well as a second or a third tenth, which is merely voluntary.

But what reason could Mr. Selden have given, or any on his behalf, why tithes should be due one year and not another?

The notion which all the world ever had of tithes was as a tribute or acknowledgment to God for what he had bestowed upon us, and to procure his further blessings upon us. I know no other notion that any man can have in offering of his tithes to God.

But this reason holds as well for one year as another: and to say that this was only to be for one year, is foolishly precarious.

Besides, Mr. Selden himself does abundantly confute this rash assertion of his own in what I have before quoted out of his Review of the third chap-

ter, where he says, "that the Gentiles were very "devout in giving of their yearly increase to the "honour of their deities:" and that their Thalysia, which was their feast immediately after harvest, in honour of Ceres, and their Haloa, about the same time, which was the like devotion to her and to Bacchus, and their several Dionysia, did spend no small part of their yearly fruits of corn and wine, besides other feasts of less note, which were to the same purpose. Thus Mr. Selden confessing these feasts to have been yearly, the same must be understood of what he says, c. 1, n. 1, of his history, " that the first-fruits were sacred to the gods " among the Gentiles;" that is, the first-fruits of every year, and not only of one year; that would be ridiculous. Ibid. c. 3, n. 1, he quotes an ancient inscription to Fortune, made by Taurinus, in honour of his father Cæsius, who paid his tithes to the goddess Fortune; speaking of which he says, Omnibus hic annis, i. e. that he paid his tithes to her every year. And, n. 3, he tells, out of Herodotus, that the inhabitants of Siphnus gave yearly tithes of their mines to Apollo: and from Callimachus, that yearly tithe was brought to Delos for the same god. Multitude of the like instances may be brought: but let these of Mr. Selden's own bringing now suffice.

5th Obj. That tithes were only paid to some particular gods.

VIII. Mr. Selden offers another blow, as he thought it, against the divine right of tithes, by it alleging, which he does very groundlessly, that tithes were not paid, as due to the gods, among the Gentiles, because they were not offered to the gods in general, but only to some particular god; as he makes the tithe of the Romans to be almost wholly

paid to Hercules, by whom, he says, they understood Mars

But this pretence, or inuendo, has as little truth as it has consequence in it: for the question is not, to which of the gods the Gentiles did pay their tithe, but whether they paid it to any of them? And if they paid it to any or all of their gods, it shews their opinion that tithes, as sacrifices, were due to the gods. For all did not sacrifice to the same god, nor always to the gods in general, but most commonly to some particular god, to whom they devoted themselves. And the same is to be said of offering their tithes. The Romans might dedicate them most frequently to the god of war, and the Greeks to Apollo, the god of learning: but this was not exclusive of the other gods, as if none of them had any right to tithes, but only Hercules or Apollo. On the contrary Mr. Selden himself confesses, c. 3, n. 1, that the Romans and their next neighbours did not tithe only to Hercules, but sometimes also to other deities; of which he there gives several instances, as of the Pelasgi, that transplanted themselves into Italy, who sent their tithe to Apollo at Delphi; of Camillus, who likewise gave the tenth of his spoils to Apollo; of Posthumius, who spent forty talents of the tithe of his spoils, after his victory against the Latins, upon sacrifices and prayers in honour of the gods; and with what remained built a temple to Ceres, Bacchus, and Proserpina. At other times also, on the general worship of the gods, such a tithe was spent, says Mr. Selden; and, n. 4, he owns again, that "tithes were "sometimes generally given to the gods without "any particular designed," among the Grecians as

well as the Romans; and quotes several examples, which for brevity I omit, thinking this point sufficiently proved, that tithes were not only offered to Hercules or Apollo, but to other gods, and to the gods in general. And so I pass to the sixth and last objection.

6th Obj. That tithe was not paid of all things.

IX. The last effort against the practice of the Gentiles, in offering tithes to their gods, is what Mr. Selden often insists on; and that is, that tithes were not paid out of all things, but only of some particular things, according to the custom of particular places. By this means, if he could not hinder tithes from being *jure divino*, he would curtail them in quantity as much as he could; and by bringing in the dispute which things were tithable might open a door to untithe every thing, at least render it very precarious.

But if the end of offering tithes to God can be no other (as has been said) than a due acknowledgment for the past increase which God has given to our labours, in whatever vocation, and to implore the continuance of his blessing upon our after-labours; this reason must reach to all things which we have received from God, or expect to receive from him. Solomon determines it of all things, Prov. iii. 9; Honour the Lord with thy substance, and with the first-fruits of all thine increase; -all increase, of whatever sort. And the same was the notion of the Gentiles, even as confessed by Mr. Selden. He tells us, c. 3, n. 1, that they tithed their estates, their substance, τὰς οὐσίας, which is every thing that they had; n. 3, all their estates: which general words include all the particulars that can be named; and it is impossible to name them all: yet let us see what particulars Mr. Selden has occasionally named in this same chapter. He names, n. 1, the tenth of fruits, of money gotten by sales, and of spoils of war; of such things as made accession to their estates; of sea-merchandise: n. 3, of mines, merchandise, and all goods confiscate: n. 4, the tenth of what the cooks in Athens killed for meat: n. 5, of frankincense: and, lastly, the instance he gives, n. 3, of that conscientious whore Rhodopis, who sent to Delphi as many spits for use in sacrifice as the tithe of that gain which she made of her body came to. This shews the notion they had of all increase paying tithe; and therefore Mr. Selden had no cause to be so unreasonably angry, as he was, n. 2, with Paulus Diaconus for that saying which he has transmitted to us of Festus's, viz. Decima quæque veteres diis suis offerebant; i. e. "that the ancients did " offer all sorts of tithes," or "tithes of all sorts of "things, to their gods." As to the vindication of Paulus Diaconus, I refer to the learned answers before mentioned, and what I have hereafter quoted out of Dr. Spencer. But as to this saying of Festus, it is no more than what Mr. Selden has given instances of in this same chapter, and which, if he had considered, he would have refrained, at least concealed his violent concern against that authority of Festus for paying tithe of all things, as to cry out, " No such matter: some did, and only sometimes, " and of some things, and most usually to some "gods only." All of which particulars have been considered already.

Let me only add, and close up this head with an authority out of Dr. Spencer, who abused a great deal of learning to justify an unhappy nostrum of his own, viz. that the institutions of the law of God were derived from the same customs prior among the Gentiles. That there were such customs, as of sacrifices, tithes, &c. among the Gentiles prior to the law of Moses, is granted; but their original was not from the Gentiles, (as Dr. Spencer very grossly mistakes it.) The Gentiles had retained, and withal corrupted, the primitive institutions of sacrifices, of tithes, &c., which were given by God to Adam, and the patriarchs before the flood. These were revived in the law of Moses, but not therefore borrowed from the Gentiles, from whose customs the Jews were commanded to abstain.

But God would not forsake his own institutions because the Gentiles did retain them, though they abused them to the worship of false gods. But to think that sacrifices, which were ordained as types of the sacrifice of Christ, had their original from the Gentiles; and that God, in compliance with their idolatry, did institute sacrifices under the law, and gave Christ himself to be sacrificed, (which some, of great name, have lately asserted, perhaps misled by this wild notion of Spencer's;) this is to overthrow the whole foundation of our religion, giving it no higher a rise than the imaginations of wicked men; and instead of the Devil's aping of God in his institutions, this, by a blasphemous inversion, makes God to ape the Devil, and borrow from him the whole economy of his worship and religion. But this is a subject I have treated of elsewhere; only thus much I thought necessary in this place, because Dr. Spencer is not to be quoted without a caution, lest we might seem to approve his errors, while we make use of his learning. He has effectually proved (though to the evil end before mentioned) that tithes were universally paid among the Gentiles, even before the law of Moses, and vindicates the above quotation out of Festus:

"f That the ancients did offer the tithes of all to their gods, i. e. all of them, of all things, to all their gods, and always, or in the ordinary course of their religion, and that R. Mountagu had sufficiently vindicated this testimony of Festus from the cavils of Scaliger."

To which Spencer adds this of Mountagu, viz.

"That some have been found in history who did
"not sacrifice; but none in all the annals of time
"who did not pay tithes. Nor was this strange,
"since tithes were as frequent among the heathens
"as altars, first-fruits, vows, oblations, or idols."

SECT. VIII.

Of the original of tithes.

1. IT is now time to see how far upwards we can trace the practice of tithes, that, if possible, we may find its beginning. There is no account how it be-

f Festi testimonium, decima quæque veteres diis suis offerebant. His enim aperte docet πώντας, πώντα, πᾶσι, πώντατε, antiquos omnes, eorum onnia, diis omnibus, et omnino, vel ordinaria religione decimasse. Huic testimonio tutius innitamur, quod R. Montacutius illud a Scaligeri convitiis tam docte vindicaverit, et famæ fideique suæ pristinæ restituerit. Diatrib. cont. Seld. c. 3. p. 412, 413, &c.

⁶ Positivis hisce, negativum unum authoris illius (ibid. p. 454 et 574) adjungam testimonium: nonnulli ἄθυτω, qui non sacrificarunt, in historiarum exemplis inveniuntur; nulli vero per omnium temporum annales, ἀδικάτευτω reperiuntur: nec mirum, cum decimæ non minus frequentes apud ethnicos, quam altaria, primitiæ, vota, oblationes, et simulacra fuerint. Spencer. de Leg. Heb. lib. 111. Disser. i. p. 620.

gan among the Gentiles; it was time out of mind with them, as ancient as any thing which their histories contained. The Attic law before mentioned, for paying of tithes, is said (as Mr. Selden tells us, Review, c. 3.) to have come from Triptolemus; and he was cotemporary with Moses.

But this cannot be the original of tithes, for we find them long before: and "it is not unlikely," says Mr. Selden, c. 3, n. 5, "but that the ancient and "most known examples of Abraham gave the first "ground both to them" (the Phœnicians in Asia, and from them to the Carthaginians in Africa) "and "to the Europeans, so sometimes to dispose of the "tenth of their spoils of war to holy uses." Whether this tenth was only of spoils of war, or whether only paid sometimes, has been spoke to. But we are now following the track of this universal custom of tithes, to see if we can come to the beginning of it.

Melchisedec is the first of whom express mention is made that he received tithes: he is the first likewise whom we read of called by the name of priest; yet none doubts but that there were priests before. As little can we doubt but tithes were paid before: for his tithing of Abram is not mentioned as the introduction of any new custom; which, if it had been then new, would have been told; else who had known what it meant? But, on the contrary, the apostle argues, Heb. vii, (as we have seen,) that this tithe was paid as a tribute due to Melchisedec, as he was priest of the most high God; and thence infers the greatness of Melchisedec above Abram. And this shews undeniably that the notion of tithes, as due to the priests, was known before that time;

for otherwise Abram could not have paid them under that notion, which St. Paul says he did.

This Melchisedec Mr. Selden supposes (c. 1, n. 2.) to have been Sem, the eldest son of Noah. So that we must pass the flood to search for an higher original of tithes. And of this dark time we have no history remaining but that only of Genesis; and that is very brief, and touches but upon a few things, being chiefly designed to deduce the genealogy of Israel from the beginning of the world.

Yet, even in that short summary, we have no obscure light given us as to tithes, with some other of the after Judaical rites: as, the difference of clean and unclean beasts and fowls, Gen. vii. 2; that the clean were only to be offered in sacrifice, ch. viii. 20; that the fat of the sacrifice was particularly to be offered, and the firstlings to be the sacrifice, Gen. iv. 4.

Some rabbies pretend that the whole Mosaical law was before the flood, and only revived under Moses. That I will not undertake. But we cannot deny a great part, as the sacrifices, &c.; and some as arbitrary as any in the Levitical law, as that of clean and unclean beasts, &c.

2. But now, as to that of tithes, we find, in the first place, the general notion of honouring the Lord with our substance, i. e. offering to him some part of our increase, Gen. iv. 3, 4; and, 2dly, that there was a determinate part, appears from the I-XX translation of Gen. iv. 7; Οὐκ, ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκης, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλης, ημαρτες; ἡσύχασον. i. e. If thou hast offered aright, but hast not divided aright, hast thou not sinned? Hold thy peace.

The authority of this translation is supported by

its being so frequently quoted in the New Testament, even where it seems to add to the Hebrew text; as in that most remarkable prophecy of our Saviour, Psalm xl. 6, A body hast thou prepared me; which is not now found in the Hebrew. And this is put instead of that expression in the Hebrew, Mine ears hast thou bored; which is not mentioned; but the other, according to the LXX, is quoted Heb. x. 5.

Some prefer the LXX translation before the present Hebrew text, which, they say, has suffered some detriment in the several captivities and persecutions of the Jews: but that the LXX translation was made out of the Hebrew while it was pure and uncorrupted. I will not desire to press this so far; only let the LXX translation stand as at least the best comment now extant of the Old Testament. And this cannot be denied to it, it being generally quoted, not only by the apostles, but the fathers of the first four hundred years. And as to this present text, Gen. iv. 7, it is quoted literally as I have set it down, according to the LXX, in St. Clem. Rom. Ep. ad Corinth. n. 4, in Irenæus adv. Hæres. lib. IV. c. 34, and in others of those primitive fathers. Tertullian adv. Judæos, n. 2, says, that God rejected the sacrifice of Cain, because quod offerebat non recte dividebat; i. e. "he did not divide aright that "which he offered." And this is more intelligible than our translation, which gives no account of the reason why God rejected the offering of Cain; but the LXX does, and the primitive fathers who followed it, viz. that Cain did not divide aright, that is, he did not offer the full quantum which he ought. And the council of Hispalis, an. 590, enjoining the

payment of tithes, applies this of Cain, and says, that whoever does not pay his tithes, prædo Dei est, et fur, et latro: et maledicta quæ intulit Dominus (τῶ) Cain non recte dividenti congeruntur; i. e. " he is a thief and a robber of God; and the curses " which God inflicted upon Cain for not dividing " aright, are laid up in store for him"-qui non omnia decimaverit-" who does not pay tithe of all "things." This shews that the sin of Cain was in not offering the full quantum of his fruits, and that that quantum was a tenth. And the apostle seems to give the same account of Cain's sin, Heb. xi, 4, where he says that Abel did offer πλείονα θυσίαν, α larger sacrifice; plurimam victimam, as the Vulgar renders it. And Grotius (in loc.) says, that the sense of this text according to the LXX was, that Cain did not offer of the best, or else that he gave a less proportion than the tenth; "hwhich," says he, " from the most ancient ages, was the portion due " to God; and that the footsteps of it are every " where to be found in the Greek and Latin his-" tories."

Mr. Selden (c. 1, n. 3.) would have Cain's sin to lie only as to the quality of his sacrifice, in not offering of the best; but not at all as to the quantity, as if there had been any quota pars, or certain quantity noted; and that Cain had given less. But this is wholly precarious; he offers not so much as any pretence that should limit this sin of Cain's to the quality only, without any respect to the quantity of his offering; whereas, on the contrary, the quantity

h Aut certe minus decima. Quæ ab antiquissimis seculis Dei portio; Gen. xiv. 20. xxviii. 22. Vestigia etiam mauent in Græcis Latinisque historiis passim.

is chiefly, nay only, noted in this text: for not dividing aright, which is the sin charged upon Cain, respects only the quantity; the quality is not to be divided. And if there was no quota pars, no certain quantity required, then could not Cain have been charged with offering less; for where there is no law, there is no transgression.

- 3. Now then it remains that there was a quota pars, and that it was enjoined. Let us next inquire who it was that enjoined it. And that must be either Adam, or God immediately: for there were none other superior to Cain. There may be a third way supposed; and that is, that Cain did vow such a quantum, and that he did not offer so much as he had vowed. But this is gratis dictum. And if he had vowed a tenth part by chance at that time, next time it might have been an eleventh, twelfth, fifteenth, or any other part. And the notion of a tenth part, as due to God, could never from thence have descended to all ages and nations, as we see it has done. It had been the same if Adam had enjoined a tenth only out of his own head by chance, and to oblige only for that time: that could never have been the foundation of so universal a practice. But if Adam did enjoin it as a law, to continue for ever among all his posterities, it will have a very great obligation, beyond that of the Rechabites: and, in the next place, it cannot be imagined that Adam should make such a standing and universal law without directions from God; for such we must suppose all the laws which Adam gave to be.
- 4. But chiefly considering that this was a part of the worship of God; and God has always prescribed the methods of his own worship, and left it not to

our wild imaginations to invent what means and ways of worship we thought fit; which would be as various and foolish as every man's fancy, and wholly unworthy the majesty of God, who has tied us up, that we should go neither to the right hand nor to the left, neither add nor diminish in matters of worship, but adhere solely to what he has commanded. The contrary of which, that is, making our own imaginations the rule and standard of our worship, is properly superstition; which God declares that he hates. And though these declarations are in the scriptures, yet the reason of them is eternal, and binding from the beginning, before the scriptures were wrote.

5. And we cannot imagine but that God gave Adam directions concerning his own worship: shall we say that sacrificing was a pure invention of Adam's, or of Cain's or Abel's?

What reason can any man give why killing of a beast should be thought a giving it to God, or a worship of God? why burning of it? why the fat, which we find noted in Abel's sacrifice? and why a firstling? but there is more than this. Sacrifices were appointed as types of Christ our true Passover, who is sacrificed for us. And Adam could have no knowledge of Christ but by revelation, which was given to him, Gen. iii. 15: and therefore without a revelation he could not have invented sacrifices to represent and exhibit the death of Christ to come. Or if he had invented it, yet he could not have appointed it as an act of worship without express command of God: for all acts of worship are means of grace, whereby God does convey his grace to us; and has obliged himself, by his promise, so to do,

when there is not a failing on our part. Now God cannot be obliged but by himself: and therefore if any man take upon him to appoint any worship of God, he does thereby pretend to limit God, and appoint him means whereby he shall be obliged to convey his graces upon such terms and conditions as we please to chalk out for him. And this is an high blasphemy.

- 6. Some foolishly apply this to indifferent ceremonies appointed by the church in the worship of God, which are nothing else but observing that order and decency in the service of God which the apostle has commanded, but no part of the worship itself. Circumstances of time, place, habit, gesture, &c. are inseparable from public worship; and the determination of these by a lawful authority we call ceremonies, which have no other virtue but the command of such authority. Nor are they appointed as any means of grace at all, whereby any grace, either ghostly or bodily, is conveyed to us. If the wearing of a surplice, (for example,) using the sign of the cross, or any other ceremony, were appointed to heal diseases, allay storms, save from fire, help women in labour, chase away devils, or to convey any virtue to soul or body; then would such ceremonies become utterly unlawful, because they were appointed as means of grace to convey such graces to us, which it is not in the power of man to appoint.
- 7. This small digression I thought necessary in this place to obviate the foregoing objection, which might be made against what I have said of its not being in the power of man to invent or appoint the worship of God. And this does sufficiently shew,

that sacrifices were neither of Adam's invention, nor of his appointment, otherwise than as he had received commandment for it from God, and delivered the same to his children. ⁱ As Peter Comestor says, that "Adam by the Spirit did teach his sons to offer "tithes and first-fruits to God." And Hugo de S. Victore says, "that God taught Adam how to "worship him, and that Adam taught his sons to "give tithes and first-fruits k."

This is further evident in that it is said, Heb. xi. 4, that Abel offered by faith. Now faith has only relation to God, and to his commands. To obey the command of a parent or magistrate is not called faith. And if we think to please God by a worship of our own invention, and have faith or trust in him that he will accept it, this is presumption in us; it is superstition, and hateful to God, and which the scripture would never call faith in God. Therefore since Abel did offer in faith, it is a necessary consequence that the thing was commanded of God.

Now the offering of fruits was a sacrifice and worship of God, as well as the sacrificing of beasts: and as God did at the beginning appoint the first-lings and the fat of beasts for sacrifice, so did he appoint a determinate quantity of the fruits; else Cain had not been condemned for not dividing aright.

And as that institution of the firstlings and the fat of clean and unclean beasts and fowl, &c. were recommanded under Moses, so was that of tithes.

Concerning which, let me give this further argument from other instances which are allowed.
 It is allowed that sacrifices, and priesthood, and

Hist. Schol, in Gen. xxvi.

k Annot. in Gen. iv.

marriage, were instituted at first by God; and that they descended by immemorial tradition from Adam to the heathen nations, who knew not of Adam, nor the beginning of the world, nor how these institutions began. But it was concluded, and that by a sure rule, that those institutions which were universally received, and whose beginning was not known, must certainly be from the beginning.

Now tithe, as well as any of these before named, was universally received among the Gentiles; and its beginning was not known more than any of the rest: and therefore tithe must have been from the beginning as well as any of the other.

Consider, I beseech you, how otherwise tithes could have come to have been so universally received. Suppose all the world to be agreed that some part of all our substance was due to God; but that no determinate part was appointed, but every man left in that to his own fancy or inclination. How should all the world hit upon the same number of a tenth more than a fifth, fifteenth, or any other number? nations far distant from one another, who knew not of one another, nor held any correspondence?

Take three men off the street, and bid them think of a number; it is ten thousand to one that they do not all three think of the same number. How inconceivable then is it, and next to an utter impossibility, that so many millions of people should all, by mere accident, stumble upon the very same number? And that they should think this number to be sacred, so as none ought to offer a less quantity without committing a great sin; that none should know the beginning of this custom; that no history should

mention it. These are things so unaccountable, that it is not left in any man's power, who will consider of it, to believe that tithes were any human invention, or that the notion of it could have spread itself so universally through the world, if it had not descended from our first parent; and so flowed from the fountain through the many divided streams.

Mr. Selden (c. 3, n. 5) would have it that the Gentiles learned this custom from the Jews; and Dr. Spencer¹, that the Jews had it from the Gentiles; but neither of these are the truth. The Jews were a very contemptible people in the eyes of the Gentiles, and abhorred of them, and therefore it is no ways likely that the Gentiles would learn from them; especially such an expensive worship as would cost them the yearly tenth of all that they possessed. And, on the other hand, the Jews were strictly forbidden to learn the customs of the Gentiles; they thought the Gentiles so impure, as that it was not lawful to marry, no nor to eat with them: and therefore it is as improbable that the Jews should part with the tenth of all their yearly increase because the Gentiles did so.

Again. If some neighbouring Gentiles had learned it from the Jews, how should it have spread to other far distant nations? how should it have been received amongst them all at the same time? how would not the beginning of it be known in any nation; nor from whence they had it? But to come to matter of fact. If, as Mr. Selden did suppose, the Jews had the notion of tithes only from the Levitical law, and that the Gentiles after this learned

¹ De Legib. Hebr. before quoted.

it of them; let us consider that the law was given to the Jews after they came out of Egypt: so that neither the Egyptians nor any other could have learned it from them while they stayed there. It was given them in the wilderness, where for forty years they conversed with no other nation, and where Moses died. Now Triptolemus king of Attica before mentioned, who made the Attic law θεούς κάρποις ἀγάλλειν, " to honour the gods with their fruits," which, as Porphyry repeats itm, was, "that all the " inhabitants of Attica should worship the gods ac-" cording to their estates, with first-fruits and offer-"ings of wine, every year:" and aπαρχας ποιείσθαι, which is Porphyry's expression for offering of their fruits to the gods, and was his phrase for paying of tithe; as was usual with all others in those times, both sacred and profane writers n: I say, this Triptolemus was cotemporary with Moses: and, for the reasons before told, could not have learned the notion of tithes from him, or the Jews in his time. And yet Triptolemus is not said to have been the first who brought the notion of tithes among the Gentiles; only that he made laws for it in his own country, which supposes the thing to be known before.

But Mr. Selden would screw it in another way, and (as I before quoted his c. 3. n. 5.) makes the example of Abram to have given the first ground to the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Europeans, for paying of tithes. How was it the example of Abram that taught Melchisedec what tithes meant, who

m Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. IV. §. ult. p. 179.

n See n. 2 of this section.

tithed him, or put him under that tribute? And Melchisedec was a king and a priest among the Phænicians; and no doubt received tithe from them as well as from Abram: and did the Phonicians then first learn it from Abram's once paying it to Melchisedec? Is it not more probable that they should learn it from Melchisedec than from Abram. who was a stranger to them? These are hard shifts which ingenious men are put to, to defend a bad cause. But if one of these must learn it from the other, it is more probable that Abram might learn it from Melchisedec, than Melchisedec from Abram; for Melchisedec was much the elder man, and both a king and a priest. But the truth is, neither of them did learn it from the other: both knew it, and learned it from their fathers. And that instance of Abram's paying tithe to Melchisedec the priest was told only occasionally, not as the original of tithes, or of priesthood, more than his paying current money with the merchant to Ephron (Gen. xxiii. 16.) was the original of money or merchandise, because we never read of money or of merchants before. And as certainly as his paying of money current with the merchant supposes that there was money and merchants before, and that it was usual to pay money; so certainly, and from the same reason, does Abram's paying tithes to a priest suppose that there were priests before, and that it was usual to pay tithes to them. And there is as much ground to suppose that the Gentiles learned the use of money from Abram's paying money to Ephron, as that they learned the use of tithes from his paying tithes to Melchisedec.

How should all the far distant nations of the

earth know, and take such notice of this single act of Abram's, who was but a traveller and sojourner in Canaan, so as to make it their pattern and example? How should they have this notion all at once? Would not some footsteps or account remain in history, how it was received from one nation to another? If that of Abram was the original of tithes, would not their beginning be found in some nation or other? What wild and unaccountable imaginations are these!

But the truth is, the Gentiles neither learned the notion of tithes from Abram or the Jews, nor the Jews from the Gentiles, more than the notions of sacrifices, of priesthood, of marriage, which were received from the beginning of the world, and deduced through the after-generations, as well of Jews as Gentiles

Tithes must be as ancient as sacrifice, for tithes were a sacrifice; they were the quantum of the sacrifice, and they must be as ancient as priesthood; for they were given by God as a maintenance to his priests, and always so understood. To sacrifice was the office of the priest, and the tithe was his reward; so that these, being relatives, must be of equal standing.

Having thus shewn the original of tithes to have been from God at the creation, and to have descended from that time to this through all ages and generations of men, I will now proceed to answer some objections which have been made against them.

SECT. IX.

Obj. That tithes are not commanded in the gospel.

1. THIS objection proceeds from a mistake of the nature of the gospel, as if it did abrogate the whole law; and that nothing of the law were of force but what is anew commanded in the gospel: whereas the gospel was not meant to overturn any thing in the law, but to confirm it to the least iota, Matth. v. 17, 18, by fulfilling all the types of Christ, which, as shadows, vanish of course when the substance is come. And the ceremonies which were ordained to accompany these types, were with the types fulfilled, that is, ended: and fulfilling is the perfection, not the destruction of any thing: that is the highest perfection, to attain to the end for which it is ordained, and that is the fulfilling of it. There was another part of the law which respected the particular nation of the Jews, as to their political government and economy, which is called their judicial law. And this varied even in the nation of the Jews, according to their different times and circumstances, as it must be in all nations. And this does not, or ever did, oblige any other nation, otherwise than as the justice and equity of that municipal law of the Jews (being given by God himself) is the best pattern that can be followed in other nations, where their circumstances will allow of it.

But all the rest of the Levitical law, except the typical, the ceremonial, and the judicial, were confirmed by Christ, and needed no new injunction. Now it is evident that tithes were no part either of the typical or ceremonial law. They were no type of Christ, for Christ is called by the name of his

types, 1 Cor. v. 7, Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us: but Christ is no where called our tithe. Tithe had another end and tendency, which was an acknowledgment and homage due to God, as the Author of all the good we received in this world; and that it was his blessing alone which gave success and increase to our labours. This respected God as our Creator and Preserver, but had no signification as to the incarnation, sufferings, death, and resurrection of Christ: and therefore was no type of him; and therefore was not fulfilled or ended in him. The reason of it is eternal, and must last while God feeds man upon the earth, and has been ever since God created man upon the earth. It was long before the law, and therefore not taking its rise from the law could not be abrogated in the law. It is true, it was a part of the law, as being anew enjoined in the law, and so was a municipal or judicial law among the Jews: but it does not therefore cease to oblige other nations, as other parts of their judicial law may cease; because, 1, the justice and equity of it is nothing peculiar to the Jews, but equal to all people and nations whom God does preserve and feed. But, 2, other nations were in possession of it long before the law of Moses; and after, not from the law of Moses, but from its original and universal obligation; and therefore the abrogation of the law of Moses, had it been every word abrogated, could not have dissolved the obligation of tithes.

But tithes belonging to no part of it, that ceased upon the coming of Christ; consequently is still confirmed, unless it can be shewn that Christ has discharged it. Christ did not anew institute the Decalogue, but left it of force, because not altered by him: and so it is of tithes.

II. But Christ has not only, by his not forbidding, confirmed tithes, but has given express approbation of them, Matth. xxiii. 23, where he says, These things (i. e. the paying tithe of the smallest things, as of mint, annise, and cummin) ye ought to have done. And in his parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, Luke xviii. 12, he reckons paying tithe of all that we possess as an act of worship and devotion to God; which sure he would not have done if it had been then abrogated. But if you say that this was spoke to the Pharisees, not to his disciples; Origen, who put this objection, gives an answer, That he would not have commanded that to the Pharisees which he would not have his disciples to fulfil much more abundantly; for, Except your righteousness exceeds the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, &c. " o How therefore," says Origen, "does " my righteousness exceed theirs, if they dare not " taste of the fruits of the earth till they have first " offered the first-fruits to the priests, and tithes to "the Levites; and I, doing none of these things, " mispend of the fruits of the earth to my own use, " without acquainting priest or Levite, or letting "the altar partake of any part of them? And this "we have said," continues he, "to shew that the " command for first-fruits of fruits and cattle ought " to stand even according to the letter."

Let me add the apostle's argument, Heb. vii. 8, where he says, that under the law men that die received tithes; but opposing to this the Melchisedecal

priesthood, which was but a type of Christ's, he says, that he receiveth them, (tithes,) of whom it is witnessed that he liveth, i. e. liveth for ever, not as the Levitical priests, who were mortal, and therefore succeeded one another. Now Melchisedec, if he was Sem, was mortal, and died, as well as the Levitical priests; and therefore this was spoken only of Christ: and the apostle says, that he receiveth tithes, for it can be meant of none other. And if Christ receiveth tithes, then he has not abrogated them; then he has confirmed them, not only negatively, by not forbidding them, under the gospel, but positively, by approving of the payment of them, and himself now in heaven, ever living, to receive them.

Again, hear St. Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14, Do ye not know that they who minister about holy things live of the things of the temple? and they who wait at the altar are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel. Of the gospel: what is that? The apostle makes the comparison as of the altar in the temple, that is, of the tithes and other offerings which were offered up on the altar, and therefore are said to belong to the altar, as being due to the altar, to be offered there; so that as the altar in the temple had a large revenue, and the priests did partake with it, did live of it, even so hath the Lord ordained-What? that the evangelical priests should live of the gospel? What revenue then has the gospel to maintain them? A revenue surely like that of the temple; else it is not even so, as the apostle makes the comparison. Some would have the gospel merely eleemosynary; nothing due, but all freewill offerings: then I am sure it was not even so as the temple; for there were freewill offerings, it is true; but that is not all; there were tithes and other offerings, as of obligation; else there had been no certainty or settled maintenance. Now if the gospel has nothing as of right, which it can claim, how is it even so as the temple? If the priests of the temple were sure of a tenth, and the priests of the gospel not of a hundredth or a thousandth part, or of any part at all, how were they provided even so as the priests of the temple?

But what was it that the Lord ordained? that every man should pay what he pleased? That they might do, and that they would do, without any order or law made for it. Was there ever such a law made, that every man should do just what he pleased, and no more? Would not such a law be good for just nothing? that is to say, it would be no law; for law is a requiring and enjoining something, a restraining of liberty, and putting men under an obligation who were free before, as to that which the law commands; and therefore that which lays no restraint or obligation, but leaves every man perfectly to his own liberty, is no law; and consequently, if every man were left to his liberty what he pleased to give to the gospel, then Christ here ordained just nothing; it was no ordinance or law at all: and there was no manner of comparison betwixt the gospel and the altar, which the apostle does compare together. The Lord ordained tithes to the altar, and nothing to the gospel. What comparison then betwixt the gospel and the altar? The same as betwixt tithes and nothing! And how then

did the Lord ordain a maintenance for the ministers of the gospel, even so as for the ministers of the altar?

There is no coherence, no argument, no comparison, nor good sense, can be made out of this text, unless the Lord had ordained, that, as the tithes were paid to the priests of the temple, they should be likewise paid to the priests of the gospel. And then the comparison lies full and round, and the apostle's argument is strong and cogent, which otherwise is precarious and inconsequential. Therefore I think that from this very text it may, nay, that it must be concluded, that the Lord has ordained tithes under the gospel as well as under the law. And I will shew hereafter, that this text was thus understood in the first ages of the church.

But why would not St. Paul downright name tithes, and so put the matter out of dispute? I answer, there was then no dispute at all concerning the divine right of tithes. All the dispute that then could be was only to whom they should be paid? Whether to the priests of the temple or the gospel? The priests of the temple were then in possession of them, and would have raised a much more severe persecution against the gospel, if its priests had pretended to them. And therefore it was great prudence in the apostles not to name tithes, not to add oil to the flames of that persecution, which was like to be too strong for the ordinary sort of Christians, and overcame some of them: yet would not the apostles lose their right, which St. Paul in this chapter not only asserts, but argues for it, though he would not then make use of it, for reasons which he there declares.

SECT. X.

Obj. That no tithes were paid in the days of the apostles, and first ages of Christianity.

1. FIRST, I deny the supposition, that no tithes were then paid: for though a tenth was ordained, yet it might be exceeded, and men might give a greater proportion if they thought fit; and God did accept of what more men gave, as a mark of more extraordinary devotion, and zeal to his service: and therefore they who gave more gave the tenth.

Now in the days of the apostles the Christians gave not only a tenth, but their zeal was so exceeding as to sell lands, houses, &c., and give all that they had in the world, and lay it down at the apostles' feet, Acts iv. 34. And this was not a sudden heat of devotion, and soon over; it lasted many years. We find it in Justin Martyr one hundred and sixty years after Christ. "P And now," says he, "we " bring all that we have into common, and commu-" nicate it to every one that wants." And after him Irenæus q, an. Chr. 180, tells, that the Jews consecrated a tenth, but the Christians gave "all that " they had to God's service, and would give not less "than the Jews, because they had a better hope." And after him Tertullian, an. 200, says, (Apol. c. 39,) "that all things were common among the " Christians, but their wives."

Now while this great zeal and liberality lasted, what reason was there to press men to give a tenth,

^p Νῦν καὶ ἆ ἔχομεν εἰς κοινὸν φέροντες καὶ πάντι δεομένφ κοινωνοῦντες. Apolog. ii. 6τ.

q Advers. Hæres. lib. iv. c. 34.

who gave a great deal more? Mr. Selden confesses, (c. 4, n. 1, p. 36,) "So liberal," says he, "in the be-"ginning of Christianity was the devotion of be-" lievers, that their bounty to the evangelical priest-" hood far exceeded what the tenth could have "been." And, p. 39, "the liberality formerly used " had been such, that in respect thereof tenths were " a small part." And, Review, c. 4, p. 462, he says, " It had been little to the purpose indeed to have "had tithes of annual increase paid, while that " most bountiful devotion of good Christians conti-" nued in frequent offerings both of lands and goods "to such large value." And (c. 4, n. 2, p. 40) he continues this vast liberality of the Christians in their offerings, to the days of St. Chrysostom, who lived at the end of the fourth century, where he tells how much the clergy were envied for their riches; which, says he, "grew only out of such "Christian devotion to the priesthood." He magnifies the great oblations made at Rome, however Cyprian, says he, "might before have cause to com-" plain in Afric." Yet the oblations were not mean in Africa, which we may gather from the relation of St. Cyprian himself, who tells, (Epist. 160, p. 96, ed. Oxon.,) that out of the oblations of the Christians of Carthage, where he was bishop, he contributed at one time an hundred thousand sestertia towards the relief of some Christian captives. But to say no more of the greatness of the devotions of those times, I have only this use to make of it as to my present purpose, that the Christians then giving more than a tenth had been reason sufficient, if there had not been one word in any of the fathers of those times concerning tithes. For

how could they require tithes, when tithes were paid, and a great deal more?

But because there should be no sort of argument wanting in this cause, we have frequent testimonies, even of the fathers of these first ages, for tithes being due under the gospel as well as under the law; and that the commands in the law for tithes do still oblige us, I will mention but a few.

St. Irenæus, disciple to St. Polycarp, who was disciple to St. John the apostle, says, (advers. Hares. lib. IV. c. 34,) that "we ought to offer to God " the first-fruits of his creatures, as Moses said, You " shall not appear empty before the Lord." It has been said before, that first-fruits and tenths are used promiscuously: but Irenæus shews that he means tenths in the same place, by making this comparison betwixt the offerings of the Jews and the Christians; that the Jews offered a tenth, but the Christians gave "all that they had." And (ibid. c. 27.) he shews how Christ did heighten the commands of the law: as for adultery, to forbid lust; for murder, to forbid anger. And he adds this instance to the other, that instead of tithes, Christ commanded to sell all, and give to the poor; and this, says he, is not a dissolving of the law, but enlarging it. By which argumentation tithes are no more dissolved under the gospel than the sixth and seventh commands. Of the same opinion was Origen, who flourished about twenty years after Irenæus: "To "whom," says he, "we give our first-fruits, to the " same we send up our prayers." τΩι δὲ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αποδίδωμεν, τούτω καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς αναπέμπομεν. Contr. Cels. lib. VIII. p. 400. By first-fruits he means tenths, as appears by his sixteenth Homily on Genesis, where he says that the number ten is regarded in the New Testament as well as the Old: and says, that because Christ is the author of all. therefore tithes are offered to the priests. He is large upon this subject, Hom. II. in Num., as translated by St. Hierom, (for we want the Greek,) much of which Mr. Selden quotes, (c. 4, p. 40 and 41.) And particularly Origen applies the text before debated, 1 Cor. ix. 13, to the priests having tithes under the gospel; and says, that tithes are due now as well as then, etiam secundum literam, according to the very letter of the law; which in this case is still obligatory, and to Christians as well as Jews. He reckons them as having no remembrance of God, as not believing that God gave the fruits of the earth, who do not honour him with them, by giving part of them to the priests: and, as I before quoted this same Homily, he likewise cites our Saviour's command to the Pharisees, telling them that they ought to pay tithe of mint, annise, cummin, &c., and shews how this is more strictly obligatory upon Christians; and concludes with proving that the very letter of the law must stand for the payment of the first-fruits of fruits and cattle: Hæc diximus asserentes mandatum de primitiis frugum vel pecorum debere etiam secundum literam stare. And all that Mr. Selden has to say against this clear testimony is r, that though Origen does mention tithes in the premises, yet that in the conclusion before quoted he only names first-fruits. He makes Origen a very bad reasoner by this: but there is no ground for it, because (as before often said) by the word first-fruits tithes were frequently meant. And

History of Tithes, c. 4. n. 3. p. 41.

in this same place Origen uses both these terms, where he tells that the Pharisees durst not taste of the fruits of the earth, priusquam primitias sacerdotibus offerant, et Levitis decimæ separentur; i. e. " before they offered first-fruits to the priests, and "the tithes were separated for the Levites:" where, as he uses the words priests and Levites, so the words first-fruits and tithes promiscuously. For the tithes were to be paid to the priests, who it is true were likewise Levites; that was a general word, like the clergy among us, to comprehend all the orders of the church: but the tithes were not paid to the Levites as they were a distinct order from the priests; nor were the first-fruits paid more particularly to the priests than the tenths were. Both first-fruits and tenths were offerings to the Lord, (as before has been shewn,) and all the offerings and sacrifices were offered only by the priests, and not by the Levites. Yet Origen here uses these words indifferently, as likewise the words first-fruits and tenths. And to shew (contrary to Mr. Selden's pretence) that he meant to bring them both in their distinct senses into his conclusion, he draws his consequence, not from one, but both of them, speaking in the plural number, Et ego nihil horum faciens i. e. Neither offering my first-fruits nor tenths. These words immediately follow those above quoted, where he shews how strictly the Scribes and Pharisees paid their first-fruits and tenths; and then, speaking in the person of a profane and careless Christian, says, ego nihil horum-do neither of these. This comprehends both first-fruits and tenths, to cut off Mr. Selden's vain distinction; and Origen condemns such a Christian as much worse

than the Scribes and Pharisees. And his inferring from hence that the mandatum de primitiis, the " law for first-fruits," ought to stand, cannot exclude the tenths, which he expressly mentioned; but shews plainly, that by this he meant the tenths: as St. Chrysostom s, by the same word of first-fruits expresses the tithes which Abram gave to Melchisedec. calling them τὰς ἀπαργὰς τῶν αὐτῶ πεπονημένων. i. e. "the first-fruits of his labours." And Clemens Alexandrinus, who was Origen's master, used both these words in the same sense, and taught the very same thing as Origen, viz. that the law of Moses concerning tithes was still obligatory, and of force among Christians, as being a moral duty and a part of God's worship. He says t, that Moses's law did teach piety and worship towards God, "by giv-"ing him the tithes of our fruit and cattle-and of "these first-fruits," says he, "the priests were main-" tained."

Here first-fruits and tithes mean the same thing: and so it is in the Apostolical Canons, where, can. 38, it is ordered how the $\frac{\partial}{\partial n} \alpha \rho \chi \alpha \lambda$, the "first-fruits" or "tithes" should be disposed, which is a full demonstration that they were then paid.

I will close my proof of those first ages with the great St. Cyprian, who flourished A. D. 240. He, reproving the cooling of the charity of some, and how far they had fallen short of the primitive zeal, says, (de Unit. Eccles. n. 23,) Domos tunc et fundos venu dabant, at nunc e patrimonio nec decimas

s In Hebr. Hom. xii. tom. iv. p. 497.

¹ Αί δεκάται τῶν καρπῶν, καὶ τῶν θρεμμάτων, εὐσεβεῖν τε εἰς τὸ Θεῖον——
ἐδίδασκεν. ἐκ τυύτων γὰρ οἶμαι τῶν ἀπαρχῶν, καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς διετρέφοντο.
Strom. lib. ii. p. 397, edit. Lutetiæ, 1629.

damus, i. e. "They then sold lands and houses; but " now we do not so much as pay the tithes of our " estates:" thereby reproaching the covetous and distrustful of his days, who paid not their bare due, that is, the tithe; whereas formerly they gave much more than was due, more than the tithe, they gave all. Thus far we have seen the doctrine of the church as to tithes for two hundred and forty years after Christ, which is all the time disputed: for in the after-ages, when a greater and more universal neglect of tithes had crept in, the fathers are voluminous upon the subject, and councils express in requiring them under pain of excommunication, as being due to God from the beginning: and the Apostolical Canons above quoted were the canon law that was in those times.

So that we have not only the testimony of private fathers; but the law that then was for the payment of tithes, before the extraordinary oblations of more than a tenth did cease in the church, though they had then no need to insist upon the tithe, because they received a much greater proportion. Mr. Selden, as before quoted, owns that these extraordinary oblations were still continued for the first four hundred years. And if I should take in all the fathers about this time, I should be forced to repeat whole sermons vindicating the divine right of tithes. None will deny but that they were full and express for tithes at that time, and afterwards. Only the first fathers were not so large, because they did not treat expressly upon this subject, only obiter, and by the by, having no occasion for it while the zeal of Christians was not willing to be stinted to the bare due of a tenth, but gave much more: so that

it were not strange if we had heard nothing at all from them of it. But by good providence they have left sufficient to convince those willing to be deceived in after-ages, who through covetousness and distrust of God did forbear to pay their tithe; till, by a long custom of sinning, men began to lose the sense of their sin, who yet durst not plead for Mal.iii.g. the lawfulness of it. As the Jews, the whole nation of whom substracted their tithe, and were cursed of God for it; yet none can think that this was a sin of ignorance in them, that they disputed or forgot the positive commands of the law for tithe: but they were not willing, and so had forgot to practise it. Which was the case of those careless and diffident Christians, who at first only grudged to pay their tithes; then forbore it; and at last forgot it: but began not till the later most corrupt times to dispute against it.

> II. When the papacy had grown great upon the ruins of episcopacy, and the bishop of Rome appropriated the style of apostolical to his see alone; assuming to himself the supremacy over all other bishops; and sought to swallow up all their authority, and centre it in the plenitude of his power: and that for this end it was necessary to usurp the revenues as well as authority of his colleagues, whereby he might be enabled to maintain the vast swarms of regulars, whom he had set up and exempted from the jurisdiction of their respective bishops to depend wholly upon himself: and by this he unmeasurably broke the episcopal authority; for the seculars only were left under that small remainder of the episcopal power, which the pope had left as a fiocco to those bishops whom he had subjugated. But he

cherished the regulars as his lifeguard; and, like a conqueror, he seized upon the estates of those whom he had overcome as justly forfeited, and bestowed them upon those who fought on his side. The tithes of the church, which all belonged to the bishops and their secular clergy, the pope took upon him to alienate, and let in the regulars as sharers with them. And thus he founded monasteries and abbeys innumerable, and endowed them with the tithes of the neighbouring parishes, to the lessening of the bishops' jurisdiction, impoverishing the secular clergy, who depended upon them, and plentifully maintaining what numbers he pleased of the regulars, who were implicitly at his command.

And to countenance and make way for these horrid sacrileges and usurpations, the popish canonists were first corrupted; who forgetting the first and chief end of tithes, which was as a worship and tribute due to God; and insisting only upon the secondary consideration, that of being a maintenance to the clergy; they, though they owned tithes to be *jure divino*, yet gave the pope power, as sovereign disposer of the revenues of the church, to alienate, commute, and appropriate them as he thought fit.

But this was a dangerous tenure: for while tithes were owned to be *jure divino*, the pope's alienations might be disputed. Therefore the schoolmen, who were generally monks, made a new scheme about the year 1230, and said that the divine and moral law extended only to a competency for the clergy; but as to the particular quantity of a tenth, that this was only of ecclesiastical institution.

But there is no stop in the art of encroachment;

for, having brought down tithes so low, the begging friars after this got up, and they made tithes to be perfectly arbitrary, at the will and pleasure of the giver, and not due to the secular priests; but that they were nothing else than mere alms, and consequently might be given to any religious beggar. This was a shameless preaching only for their own bellies, and to rob their enemies the secular clergy.

But to conclude. The popes, as faithful treasurers of the church, have in several ages taken upon them to sell the tithes of the church to laymen, to the best bidder; and have infeodated the tithes all over Italy to the secular princes: insomuch that I was told by an understanding gentleman, and a Roman catholic, who lived many years in Rome, that there is not an inch of tithe now paid to the church in all Italy: all is sold to the laity, or appropriated to the monks. And the like, though not in so great a degree, is done in France, Spain, and other popish countries.

SECT. XI.

Tithes dedicated by particular vows in England.

THE general obligation of tithes being established, there needed no particular application as to England. But I find that we have here added the sacred sanction of vows to that general obligation under which we were bound with all the rest of the world. And the like may be done, and I suppose has been, in most Christian countries; yet let me shew it as to ourselves.

1. Tithes have been established by all the authority, both ecclesiastical and civil, that this nation could afford, and dedicated to God by express vows

of kings and parliaments, with the most solemn imprecations and curses upon themselves and their posterities, who should retract or take back any part of the tithes so dedicated. This is so well known, and so many acts of parliament confirming it, that I need but name it; yet, for the satisfaction of those who are not so well versed herein, I will set down a few of the most ancient records which Mr. Selden himself has afforded us, that they may be liable to the less exception. C. VIII. n. 2. p. 199, he recites the 17th chapter of the great council of Calcuth, A. D. 786, where he says, Convenerunt omnes principes regionis, tam ecclesiastici quam seculares; "All the great men of the nation, as "well ecclesiastical as temporal, were convened." So that this was a full parliament, according to the constitution of those days. And, p. 203, he supposes it "extending through the whole kingdom." And as to the truth of the matter of fact, he quotes several authors wherein it is printed, and says, p. 202, "Neither can it be suspected by any cir-"cumstance in the subscriptions; which being so " many, might have by chance soon got among "them a character of falsehood, had it not been " genuine."

This chapter of it which he quotes is, *De decimis dandis*, sicut in lege scriptum est; "Concerning the "payment of tithes, according as it is written in the "law." And they infer, as the ancient fathers before quoted, that the command in the law of Moses for the payment of tithes was still in force, and obligatory upon Christians, and quote Mal. iii. 10, &c. for it. And it is recited in the said chapter, how the king Elfwald, the dukes, lords, senators,

and the people, did all with one consent [devove-runt] bind themselves by a solemn vow to pay the tithe to God.

2. Mr. Selden, p. 208, 209, sets down a charter of king Ethelwolf, A. D. 854, wherein he grants decimam partem terrarum per regnum nostrum; "the tithe of all the lands in his kingdom to the "church." And it concludes thus; Qui autem augere voluerit nostram donationem, augeat Omnipotens Deus dies ejus prosperos; si quis vero minuere vel mutare præsumpserit, noscat se ante tribunal Christi redditurum rationem, nisi prius satisfactione emendaverit; i. e. "He that shall add " to what I have given, the Lord add to him pros-" perous days: but if any shall presume to lessen " or change it, let him know that he shall give an " account of it before the tribunal of Christ, unless " he first repent, and make satisfaction." This, Mr. Selden says, he had out of the Cotton library, where it is in MS. among the chartularies of the abbey of Abingdon. The charter expresses, that the king made this grant by the advice and consent of the " bishops, earls, and all the great men." And Mr. Selden says, p. 208, that this was a "constitution, " by the parliamentary consent of that time."

3. But in the year following, A. D. 855, king Ethelwolf did renew this grant in a more solemn manner, dedicating and vowing the tithe of all the lands in England, in sempiterno graphio, in cruce Christi, as it is expressed, and was the manner at that time of the most solemn vow; and tendered the charter, by him signed, upon his knees, offering it up, and laying it upon the great altar of St. Peter's church in Westminster, the bishops receiving

it from him on God's part. And this was done, not only with the consent of both lords and commons, of whom an infinite number was present; but all the bishops, abbots, earls, and nobles did subscribe it, with the greatest applause of the people: and it was sent and published in every parish church throughout the kingdom.

4. This Ethelwolf was the first hereditary monarch of the English-Saxons, who held the whole nation under his subjection in peace, and without contradiction; and consequently he was the first who could effectually make a law to oblige the whole nation.

And this law and vow of his, and of the whole nation, by their consent given, as aforesaid, was confirmed and renewed by almost every king and parliament that succeeded, in the reigns of Alfred, Edward, Athelstan, Edmund, Edgar, Ethelred, Canutus, and Edward the Confessor, before the conquest, and from William the Conqueror down all the way to Hen. VIII. in many parliaments, with solemn curses and imprecations upon themselves or posterities who should detract any of the tithes so vowed and granted: and such curses and excommunications were pronounced in the most solemn and dreadful manner by the bishops, with burning tapers in their hands, in presence of king, lords, and commons, in parliament assembled, and all consenting and confirming the same, in name of themselves and their posterities. And as it is expressed in the act of parliament made in the reign of king Edmund, A.D. 940, "wherein all the people are charged, upon their Christianity, to pay their tithes; and

¹¹ Spelm. Concil. t. i. p. 420. Hist. Jotval. col. 858.

those who neglect it are declared accursed, i. e. excommunicated; and they were esteemed as men who had renounced their Christianity, and not to deserve the name of Christians. And these grants and vows are confirmed by Magna Charta, and all the rest of our laws, both before and after it.

5. Now it is a received maxim in the civil law, as well as a dictate of reason, that votum transit in hæredes, a vow does descend and oblige our heirs. And in the law of Justinian, which he received from Ulpian, it is particularly applied to this of tithes: *Si forte, qui decimam vovit, decesserit ante sepositionem, hæres ipsius, hæreditario nomine, decimæ obstrictus est. Voti enim obligationem ad hæredem transire constat; i. e. "If any that had " vowed tithes should die before they were paid, " his heir is obliged to pay them; because it is a "known rule, that the obligation of a vow does "descend to the heirs." How much more then if any not only voweth, but actually executeth his vow, and has already given the tithes which he vowed out of his own possession to those to whom his vow did oblige him to give them; how much more is his heir obliged in this case not to recall or take back such tithes out of their possession to whom they were so vowed and given!

If a man cannot annul or make void his own vow, without a manifest mocking of God, how can he recall or disannul the vow of another?

If a man's grant of his own estate, when duly executed, cannot be recalled, though to the prejudice or ruin of his family; and though it was wrong in him, and very unjust, to make such a grant; shall

x f. f. Lib. de Pollicit. lib. ii. Quis. §. 2.

not his grant of restitution stand, whereby he only gives back what he had unjustly taken from another, what he had robbed from God of his tithes and offerings? Must there be a writ of inquiry, to examine into the justice and equity of the original grant, and to recall it, because it was too much? Shall we think that too much which God has reserved as holy unto himself, and for which he has promised to bless us in all that we set our hand unto? Is not he able to make us amends, and increase our store an hundredfold? Is not be able to punish our distrust of him, and take away our nine parts, who grudge to give him the tenth? Is not this a snare of the Devil, to throw us out of God's favour, and make us forfeit his protection? Is it not a snare to the man who devoureth that which is holy, and after vows, to make inquiry? Prov. xx. 25. If it is not lawful to make inquiry, to grudge or snip from what I have vowed, though it be of things which I was not obliged to vow, or to give away; how much more unlawful is it to make inquiry after I have vowed that which was God's due before I vowed, and which I was obliged to pay, though I had not vowed it at all!

If Ananias and Sapphira were stricken dead upon the place for keeping back but part of the price which they had not formally vowed, no, nor promised, for ought appears, but only thought of, or resolved in their minds to give, even of their own, and which could not have been exacted from them; shall they escape who keep back, not a part, but the whole, of those tithes which God had reserved, like the forbidden fruit, not to be touched by us, ever since the creation of man upon the earth; and

which had been moreover so often and so solemnly vowed, with the most dreadful imprecations, both temporal and eternal, upon all those who should refuse or neglect to pay them? If the dissembling of Acts v. 4. Ananias and Sapphira was construed a lying, not to men, but to the Holy Ghost; how is not a lying both to men and to the Holy Ghost to defeat the grants of our forefathers, to disannul their vows, and rob God of what they had vowed to him, and which was his due before, and is still due from us, though neither they nor we had ever vowed them? There is a greater complication of daring and provoking sins in this matter than perhaps is to be found in any other instance now in practice amongst us; and which we ought not to forget in the list of those sins for which God is now visibly punishing these nations. We have refused him his tenth, and he has taken our nine parts from us, and scarcely left a tenth in the nation of what but a few years ago we did possess; and his hand is stretched out still____.

6. Mr. Selden, though he bent his whole strength against the divine right of tithes, yet when he came to consider the solemn dedication of them, with vows to God, he yields, upon this score, that they were unalienable and irrevocable. I will set down some of his words in his Review, p. 486: "And let "him that detains them," (the tithes,) says he, "and "believes them not to be *jure divino*, think of the "ancient dedications of them made to holy uses: "and however they were abused to superstition, as "the other large endowments of the church, before "the reformation, yet follows it not, without fur-"ther consideration, that therefore, although so de-

"dicated, they might be profaned to common uses " or lay-hands. Consult herein with divines. But I "doubt not but that every good man wishes, that " at our dissolution of monasteries, both the lands " and impropriated tithes and churches possessed " by them (that is, things sacred to the service of "God, although abused by such as had them) had " been bestowed rather for the advancement of the "church to a better maintenance of the labouring " and deserving ministry, to the fostering of good " arts, relief of the poor, and other such good uses " as might retain in them, for the benefit of the " church or commonwealth, a character of the wishes " of those who first with devotion dedicated them, " (as in some, other countries, upon the reforma-"tion, was religiously done,) than conferred with " such a prodigal dispensation, as it happened, on "those who stood ready to devour what was sancti-"fied; and have (in no small number) since found "inheritances thence derived to them but as Seja-" nus's horse, or the gold of Tholouse."

7. This observation of Selden's has been more particularly insisted upon by sir Henry Spelman, in his History of Sacrilege; and his son Clem. Spelman, in his preface to his father's book, *De non temerand*. Eccl., who has given many and remarkable instances of the ruin and destruction of those families who shared most of the church lands and tithes in the beginning of our reformation, and before, from William the Conqueror: especially it was taken notice of, that the heirs of such families were taken off untimely, or that they had no heirs, and

⁵ Christoph, Pinder, de Bonis Ecclesiæ in Ducat, Wittenberg, p. 94, &c.

that their estates and honours went into other families. This was chiefly remarkable in Hen. VIII. himself; all of whose children died childless, and left his crown to another family and nation. And whereas the addition of the church lands and treasure which were annexed to the crown were thought so inexhaustible, that Hen. VIII, promised to his parliament, that if they would settle them upon the crown, he would free the nation for ever from taxes and subsidies; would maintain z forty earls, sixty barons, three hundred knights, and forty thousand soldiers; and that they should always be so maintained upon the expense of the crown: yet when these church lands and tithes impropriated were accordingly granted to the crown, together with the plunder of all the church plate, and jewels offered at their shrines, which were inestimable, all that the king had promised in lieu of them was forgot; and the nation never paid such heavy taxes as since that time; instead of being eased from taxes, as they expected, and was promised, from that day taxes seemed to be entailed upon them, and ever to increase. They have already (as above observed) brought us to a tenth, who have seized upon the tenth of God: and unless we repent-And as for the crown, that vast accession of sacrilegious wealth and lands eat out themselves, and all the crown lands with them; insomuch that at this day several private gentlemen in England enjoy more to their own estates than all the lands which are left to the crown do now yield. And Hen. VIII. himself, who thought never to be poor, lived to see that

² Howe's Preface to Stow's Annals. Coke's Jurisdiction of Courts, f. 44.

incredible mass of wealth, which he had robbed from the churches, all melt away like ice before the sun, and his own vast treasure with it; insomuch that he was at last reduced to coin base money.

The fate of the great duke of Somerset is very observable: he was uncle to king Edward the Sixth, and protector of England; he built Somerset-house with the stones of a church reformed to ruin, and was the great patron and promoter of impropriations: he was taken in the same net he had laid for others, an act of parliament he had procured for his own safety, and to crush his enemies, by which he was trapped himself, and lost his head for so poor a crime as felony; and, which is more extraordinary, had not the power or presence of mind to demand the benefit of his clergy, which could not have been refused him: "As if," says an historian, "God would not suffer him, who had robbed his "church, to be saved by his clergy."

Many are too rash in determining the judgments of God to be sent for this or that; and the excess of this, especially of late times, even to superstition, among those who cried out most against it, and were most superstitious, but knew it not, has run others to the contrary extreme of irreligion, to think God wholly unconcerned in the affairs of the world, and that no notice at all is to be taken of any events, which they suppose to happen casually, and to have no relation to either the good or evil that we do. This is to deny all providence in God, which is atheism; for it destroys the very notion of a God, which cannot be without his providence supposed, and an universal influence and inspection over all things.

And though it is hard to make an argument, and conclude positively for what particular sin such a judgment was sent, and we often mistake in this, and make applications according to humour or interest; yet sometimes judgments are so very legible, that we may read our sin in our punishment: and God frequently in scripture reproves the hardness of their hearts who shut their eyes against the observa-

Isai. v. 12. tion of this signal part of his providence: who regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the

Jer. v. 12. operation of his hands. They have belied the Lord, and said, It is not he; neither shall evil come upon us. It is called a belying of God, to think that the evils which come upon us are not sent from him.

Isai. xlv. 7. For, says he, I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all these things.

Amos iii. 6. And, Shall there be evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it?

The wicked blaspheme God, while they do say in Psal. x. 12, 14, 15. their heart, Tush, thou God carest not for it; he hideth away his face, and he will never see it-Surely thou hast seen it, for thou beholdest ungodliness and wrong; that thou mayest take the matter into thine own hand.

And the Jews are reprehended by our Saviour,

Matt. xvi. for not discerning the signs of the times.

It is called a knowing of God, to observe the course of his judgments and his mercies; for how otherwise can we know him upon earth?

He judged the cause of the poor and needy; then Jer. xxii. it was well with him: was not this to know me? saith the Lord.

> And the consequence is, that not to take notice of these things is not to know God; it is to belie him,

to blaspheme him, as in the texts before quoted, and many more that could be produced to the same purpose.

Now to apply this to our present purpose: I do not pretend to draw an argument from the many instances of God's remarkable judgments upon both their persons and families who had robbed his church, as if those judgments must of necessity have been inflicted purely and solely for this sin. Yet if this be a sin, and of so deep a die, as it must be, if it be any sin at all; (for it can be no other than sacrilege;) and if that be the most open and notorious known sin of these persons, and likewise these judgments are observed to follow the lands, houses, and tithes impropriate, though often bought and sold, and changing owners: not in every case, for if God should punish wickedness in all, the world must soon be destroyed, and he does often suffer the wicked to prosper; it is one of the sharpest scourges he uses to chastise a sinful nation; and having done his work, to burn the rod: I say, if we see judgments to follow such a sin, for the most part, and in such repeated and remarkable instances as sir Henry Spelman gives us in his History of Sacrilege; and many more of the same sort which we can gather elsewhere, and some that our own experience can furnish us withal: in such cases, it is far from superstition to take notice of the hand of God in them; and not to do it, is that stupidity and blasphemy before reprehended; it is a hardening ourselves against all the methods of divine Providence, a denial of it, and living without God in the world.

Who can (for example) avoid the observation of

the New Forest in Hampshire devouring so many of William the Conqueror's sons by strange deaths, he having destroyed twenty-six parish churches to make room for his deer there, as you may see in Spelman's Hist. Sacril. p. 119, 120.

Or what is observed in his preface to his *De non temerand*. *Eccl.* p. 42, that within twenty years after Henry the Eighth's seizing the revenues of the church by the advice and assistance of his nobility, and dividing her patrimony among them chiefly, more of them and their children were attainted, and died by the sword of justice, than from the Conquest to that time, which was about five hundred years.

Sir Henry Spelman's Hist. Sacril. c. VII. computes that "the great increase of lands and wealth that " came to the king by the dissolution was qua-"druple to the crown lands;" and takes notice (p. 226, 227) how the crown lands were dwindling away; most of them being then gone, (when he wrote, in the reign of king Charles the First,) and only fee-farm rents reserved out of the greatest part of them, viz. 40,000l, a year out of the crown lands, and 60,000l. out of the church lands; and observes, as a continuance of the judgment upon them, that an infraction was then begun to be made upon the very fee-farm rents themselves, and that some of them had been alienated; but if he had lived another reign, he would have seen them every one sold, and the crown reduced to live from hand to mouth, upon the mere benevolence of those, whose care it is to keep it always so depending, and upon its good behaviour.

So much has the crown gained by the access of sacrilegious wealth, as from imperial dignity and a propriety paramount in all the lands of England, to become an honourable beggar for its daily bread.

I know not how far this has sunk with those who are concerned; or whether another curse may not be added, that is, never to consider, but go on.

However, sir Henry Spelman has told us of several gentlemen in England, who, out of a due sense of the sin of this sacrilege, have freely given up and restored to the church, as far as the laws would permit them, all their impropriate tithes which had descended to them from their ancestors; that instead of them, and the curses which attended them, they might entail the blessing of God upon the rest of their estates, and upon their posterities. The sense of this sunk so deep with the great earl of Strafford, that foreseeing a new sacrilegious deluge of usurpation upon the church then coming on, anno 1640, he made it his dving injunction to his son, under peril of his curse, and of the curse of God, never to meddle with any church lands, or what had been once dedicated to God. This legacy he sent him from the scaffold, where men are past dissembling or courting favour; though this could have been no recommendation to him at that time.

And how light soever some men make of the sin of sacrilege, while they gain by it, yet when they come to die, they may have the same sense of it which that noble lord then so religiously expressed. But there being no repentance accepted by God, without restitution as far as in our power, I pray God they may think of it while it is in their power to make that restitution, which alone can witness the sincerity of their repentance.

8. There can no pretence be made for the law-LESLIE, VOL. VII. B b

fulness of impropriations, when those very acts of parliament which took them from the church, and gave them to laymen, do acknowledge that they are God's dues, and his right; that they are due to God and holy church, as in 27 Hen. VIII. c. 20. nay, they were always so acknowledged, and no otherwise; insomuch that there was no law or precedent for a layman to sue for tithes; it was utterly heterogeneous and abhorrent: for which reason, when tithes were given to laymen, they were forced to have a particular act of parliament, 32 Hen. VIII. c. 7, to enable laymen to sue for tithe, which before they could not do; in which very act tithe is named as being due to Almighty God. And next to act of parliament, the great oracle of our law, sir Edward Coke, is to be heard, who in the bishop of Winchester's case plainly asserts that dismes sont choses spirituall, & due de jure divino, i. e. " that tithes "are spiritual things, and due of divine right." And if so, how can acts of parliament alter them? Can they take away God's right? This is plainly pleading guilty against themselves, and leaves all those self-condemned who have nothing but these acts of parliament to plead in arrest of judgment for the sacrilege of their impropriations at the day of doom.

9. In the next place, can an act of parliament dispense with vows made to God, or alter things Gen. 1. 25. dedicated to his service? Did the oath which Joseph took of the children of Israel bind their posterities so many ages after, and that about a matter of no greater consequence than the removing his bones? And shall not the repeated vows of our anExod. xiii. cestors bind us, to give God the honour due unto his name, the worship of our tithes, which he from

the beginning has reserved as sacred unto himself? Did that oath bind which the princes of the congre-Josh.ix. 15. gation swore to the Gibeonites; and shall not the vows and oaths of so many of our kings and parliaments bind us?

Did that oath hind which the Gibeonites obtained through fraud and deceit? and shall not ours bind, which were voluntary and honest? Did God dispense so far with his own command of making no covenant with the Canaanites in favour of the Israelites' oath, though taken unawares? and will he give up that part of his worship which he hath made standing and perpetual, the offering of our tithes, in favour of our breach of a lawful and religious oath to perform this? Did God punish the Is- 2 Sam. xxi. raelites with three years' famine for Saul's attempting to break this oath four hundred and fifty years Acts xiii. after it was made? and is our crime forgotten, who 200 little more than one hundred and fifty years ago have dissolved the oaths of our ancestors! Did God punish this sin of Saul's upon the Israelites after he was dead? and may not we be punished, though Henry the Eighth be dead! Were the people punished who did not consent to Saul's act? and shall they escape who joined with and assisted Henry the Eighth, shared the spoil with him, and keep it unto this day!

Did God refuse to answer, till Jonathan's ignorant 1 Sam. xiv. and unwilling breach of Saul's rash and hurtful oath ³⁷ was purged? and will he answer our prayers, till we are purged from our wilful and obstinate breach of the lawful and laudable vows of our progenitors! Did Saul's oath bind without the consent of the people, and though Jonathan knew it not? and

shall not ours bind, made with the consent of the people, and which we all very well know!

Ezek. xvii.' Was Zedekiah so severely cursed for despising
the oath of God, which the king of Babylon forced
ver. 14. him to swear, though it was, that the kingdom might
be base, and that it might not lift itself up? and
shall we be upholden, who have wilfully despised
the oath of the Lord our God, to pay him his tithes;
Mal. iii. 10, which, if we trust his promise, would make us great
11, 12. and blessed, and a delightsome land?

SECT. XII.

The benefit of paying our tithe.

1. OUR services add nothing to God; therefore it is our good which he seeks in all his institutions of religion. It is our good, our greatest good, that our whole trust should be in the Lord, always and upon all occasions, because he cannot fail us, and every thing else will; and therefore we must be miserable if we place our trust in any thing else than God; and our greatest happiness must consist in a full and absolute dependence upon him. Now this trust and dependence is produced more by our deeds than our words; more by practising of it, than by speaking of it and praising it. And the payment of our tithe is a practice of it, a trusting in God, that he will not only accept it, and give us spiritual blessings for it; but even that we shall gain by it as to this world, and grow the richer for it: for it is his blessing only that giveth increase; as to the fruits of the field, so to the labours of our hands, to all our endeavours in whatever vocation. And he has promised not only spiritual, but even temporal blessings, and increase of our store, if we will

trust him so far, as duly and cheerfully, without grudging or despondency, to pay our tithes to him. Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that Mal. iii. 10. there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it. And I will rebuke the devourer for your sakes, and he shall not destroy the fruits of your ground; neither shall your vine cast her fruit before the time in the field, saith the Lord of hosts. And all nations shall call you blessed: for ye shall be a delightsome land, saith the Lord of hosts. The same blessing is promised, Prov. iii. 9, Honour the Lord with thy substance, and with the first-fruits of all thine increase: so shall thy barns be filled with plenty, and thy presses shall burst out with new wine. And thus it was understood by the Jews in after-generations, as you find it expressed almost in the same words as these of Solomon, Give the Lord Ecclus. his honour with a good eye, and diminish not the xxx first-fruits of thine hands: in all thy gifts shew a cheerful countenance, and dedicate thy tithes with gladness: give unto the most High according as he hath enriched thee, and as thou hast gotten, give with a cheerful eye; for the Lord recompenseth, and will give thee seven times as much. Therefore it is our own advantage that we pay tithe. The Lord bids us prove him herein, try him, trust in him, and see how abundant he will be in his blessings to us, and whether he will not return to us tenfold for the tenth we give to him. But if we dare not trust God so far as to make this small experiment, when he provokes us to it, and grudge to give

him the tenth who gave us all, it is but just with him to take that from us wherein we trusted, and not to leave us a tenth; but to take the whole from those who durst not trust him and all his promises with a tenth.

Whereas, on the other hand, those who do truly and sincerely believe and trust in God, and in what he has promised, will shew it in deeds as well as in words; will pay him his tithe religiously, and with a good heart: and when he finds God performing his promise, and rewarding his faith in doubling of his stores, this increases his faith and trust in God: it is practice makes perfect; and it confirms our faith as to the future promises of heaven, when we find that God does make good his promises to us here. These are inestimable benefits, even the confirming of our faith, without which we shall never come to heaven.

And I will be bold to say, that whoever dare not trust God's promise as to his tithe, (supposing him convinced of it,) does not really believe it, nor trust to it, as to heaven, however he may flatter himself, or impose upon others. For he that will not trust God in a little, how will he in a great deal? If not for a penny, how can he for heaven?

Therefore we see how justly covetousness is called *idolatry*. A covetous man cannot trust in God; nor can he that trusts sincerely in God ever be covetous: it is impossible; for these are direct opposites. This is the reason that God has commanded we should worship him, not only with our minds, or with our tongues, but with our substance. This puts our faith in practice; and practice confirms and enlarges it. And it is the least proportion of our substance

which he has required, that is, the tenth; something that may shew our trust and dependence upon him: the more zealous gave more, according to their faith. Christ commanded the rich young nobleman to sell Luke xviii. all. And the first Christians gave all: all, at the Acts iv. 34. beginning, gave more than a tenth, else were they esteemed worse than the Jews, who gave that proportion, as I have before shewn out of Irenæus, &c. Now then the payment of our tithe being of itself productive of so great virtue and strength in our minds, to teach us and inure us how to trust in God, and having likewise the promise of so great temporal blessings, is not to be looked upon as a tax or imposition upon us, but as a high privilege, and a pledge by which God has obliged himself to provide for us, and to return us ten times as much, even in this world, besides the end of our faith, which is heaven. Hence our tithe is called, the bread of our soul: and God threatens it as an heavy judgment, that we shall not be permitted to pay our tithe to him; They shall not offer wineofferings to the Lord-their bread for their soul shall not come into the house of the Lord. By this they forfeited all the benefits and all the promises which were annexed to the payment of their tithe. How much more then have we forfeited, who, when we are not only permitted but invited to partake of this benefit, turn the deaf ear, and refuse to restore what we have sacrilegiously robbed out of the house of God?

SECT. XIII.

Remarkable judgments for not paying of our tithe.

TITHES being proved to be a part of God's worship, and a blessing to attend the payment of them,

the consequence is implied, that a curse must be due to the non-payment of them, it being a contempt of God, and a neglect of his worship. As payment of tribute is an acknowledgment of his being king to whom we think it due, and the denial of tribute is a denial of his being king; so tithe being the tribute which God hath reserved to himself, to deny that to him, is denying him to be our God: and though we acknowledge him with our mouths, yet that will no more be accepted, than an earthly king would think him to be a good subject, who only called him king, and gave him the knee or the hat, but yet denied him his tribute and more substantial honour.

I. The heathens paid their worship, and consequently their tithe, as being part of it, to false gods, and thought that judgments did attend their neglect of it.

And judgments might attend it: for though their worship was not pleasing to God, as to the manner of it, it being idolatrous; yet it being ultimately referred to and intended for the supreme Being, whom they ignorantly worshipped, (Acts xvii. 23,) it was consequently a dishonour meant to him, when they profaned what they thought sacred to him, and might justly be punished by God, as arguing a pravity in their wills, though they followed an erroneous judgment.

1 Kings xiii. 33,34

Thus it became sin to Jeroboam and his house, even to cut it off, and to destroy it from off the face of the earth, that he made priests of the lowest of the people, though it were to his idol calves that he had set up: for the worship being referred ultimately to God, whom he meant to worship by those calves, the dishonour did consequently redound to

God to have the meanest of the people set up for his priests.

And Jeroboam must sin herein more wilfully than the heathen, because he had more knowledge than they, that this manner of worship was forbidden by God.

Which the heathens not knowing, their worship was less guilty, and consequently might be the more noticed by God, so as to punish their prevarications in it according to what they intended, though not according to the thing itself.

For this reason, Joseph did not buy the lands of the priests in Egypt, (Gen. xlvii. 22,) because they were given to a religious, though idolatrous use.

And though God ordered idols to be burned, and their priests sometimes to be slain, yet we find not that ever he permitted any of their dedicated things to be taken as a prey, or turned to common use, but to be burned and destroyed.

For these reasons the heathens may be allowed among the instances of God's judgments upon sacrilege, particularly that branch of it which is our present subject, the substraction of tithe: however, it confirms their opinion concerning the divine right of tithes; for otherwise they could not have thought that the divine vengeance fell upon them for their substraction of their tithe.

But because I lay the least stress upon these instances from the heathen, I will only name a few, that I might not wholly omit them.

1. It is told before, in the story of Camillus, how the Romans apprehended the displeasure of the gods, and what reparation they made for the soldiers not giving the tenth of the booty they got in the sacking of Veies.

- 2. Hesiod (as before mentioned) tells of the people Thoes, who were accounted wicked and atheistical, because they paid not their tithes to the gods; and that they were utterly destroyed by the gods for that reason.
- 3. Diodor. Sic. tells likewise (*Hist.* lib. v.) of the Carthaginians, who constantly paid their tithe to Hercules: but when they were grown rich, they neglected it, till being reduced to great straits in their wars, they attributed these judgments to have come upon them for that neglect; and in their distress they returned to the payment of their tithes as formerly.
- 4. Pausan. *Hist. Græc.* says, that the Siphnians, who used to pay the yearly tithe of their mines, lost them, by the justice of the gods, for having omitted that payment.
- 5. And, to name no more, Dionys. Halicar. lib. I. shews how the Pelasgi in Umbria were punished with a barren year for not paying of their tithe; and that upon their afresh vowing the tithe of all their profits to the gods, that judgment was removed.

This is sufficient (at least) to shew the notion of the heathen in this point.

II. But it is more authentic to see how God punished this neglect of tithe among the Jews. And we find this to have borne a great part in the most remarkable judgments that befell them. 1. The captivity of the ten tribes was in the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah. And we find by the reformation

which Hezekiah made after that, as well in Israel as Judah, 2 Chron. xxxi, that the payment of their tithes had been greatly neglected, the restoring of the tithe being a main branch of that reformation: and therefore there is no doubt but that the neglect of paying their tithe had a main weight, as in the excision of the ten tribes, so in the captivity of Judah, which soon after followed.

This further appears in the reformation of Nehemiah after the captivity; wherein they promised amendment of those things which they had formerly neglected, and for which neglect that captivity was sent upon them. They particularly remember the neglect of the sabbatical year, and the year of release, (before mentioned,) and promise the future observance of them. Neh. x. 31, and after, to the end of that chapter, there is large mention, and renewed promises, as to the due and exact payment of their tithes; which makes it plain, that as the sabbatical year and the year of release, so the tithes had been neglected; and that for such neglect they had been punished with that long captivity. And as the land had rest for seventy years together, to fulfil so many sabbatical years as they had neglected, (which is shewn above, sect. I. p. 282;) so were they deprived of the whole profits of the land, who had neglected to pay the Lord his tenth part.

III. But after their return from the captivity, they fell again into a new neglect of paying their tithe; for which an heavier curse fell upon them than before; a vile prostitution of their priesthood, and greater corruption in doctrine and manners than ever formerly, as appears in the history of the Maccabees, and afterwards, to the time of our blessed

Romans, at whose pleasure their priesthood was

changed, made annual and arbitrary, and their whole service rendered precarious. By their doctrines of corban, and such like, they had made the commands of God of none effect, as our blessed Saviour reprehended them: their Scribes and Pharisees were Matt. xxiii. hypocrites, blind guides, serpents, and a generation of vipers. Their chief priests and elders took counsel against Jesus, mistook and murdered their Messiah. This was the heaviest of curses! they entailed the guilt of his blood upon them and their children, which lies upon them to this day, in a dispersion to the four winds, of now near one thousand seven hundred years standing; a much greater judgment (if they would reflect upon it) than their seventy years' captivity in Babylon for their former idolatries and prevarications.

> But as to our present subject, was there any thing remarkable as to the non-payment of their tithes before our Saviour's coming, that might be reckoned to have its share in that hardness of heart which proved their destruction? Yes; Godwyn shews from the Jewish authors, (in his Moses and Aaron, lib. vi. c. 3, p. 253,) that there had been a great neglect among them in the payment of their tithe; and this increased more and more upon them, insomuch that, as they tell us, for about one hundred and thirty years before our Saviour's incarnation, "this cor-"ruption so prevailed, that the people in a manner " neglected all tithe." But we have an higher authority than even these Jewish authors against themselves, that is, the last of their prophets, after the captivity, who charges this of the non-payment of

their tithe as the great curse which lay upon them; and therefore must have a principal weight in the forenamed dreadful judgments which fell upon them. Hear his own words; Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes and offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse: for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation, Mal. iii. 8, 9.

IV. Let us now descend to the times of Christianity. It has been told before of the great devotion of the primitive Christians, in giving not only the tenth, but all of them much more, many even all that they had, to the service of God. But this wore away, and they began to grudge the very tenth. Soon after which, in the beginning of the fifth century, there came a dreadful revolution: the Goths and Vandals were let loose, like an impetuous torrent, which overran many nations, and ruined many Christian churches, that never found an after-settlement. Among the rest, the Vandals sacked Hippo in Africa, A. D. 429, immediately after the death of St. Augustine, who was bishop of that city; he, as it were, standing in the gap, and keeping off the vengeance from them while he lived. And in his admonitions to them, he laid a particular stress upon their neglect of the payment of their tithe, as a main cause of the miseries which had overtaken them, especially of their poverty, occasioned by the heavy taxes which were extorted from them to carry on that war in which they were engaged. And he observes to them, that God by this was exacting double from them for those tithes which they had neglected to pay to him: Majores nostri (says he, Hom. 48.) ideo copiis omnibus abundabant, quia decimas dabant, et Cæsari censum reddebant: modo autem, quia discessit devotio Dei, accessit indictio fisci. Nolumus partiri cum Deo decimas, modo autem totum tollitur. Hoc tollit fiscus, quod non accipit Christus; i.e. "Our forefathers abounded in plenty, because they gave to God and Cæsar their due; "that is, tithes to God, and tribute to their king. But now, because our devotion towards God is "ceased, the imposition of taxes is increased. We "would not share with God in giving him the tenth; "and now, behold, the whole is taken from us: the "exchequer has swallowed that which we refused "to give to Christ."

V. How literally has this been our case! I wish that we may reflect upon it. It is about one hundred and fifty years since we have seized upon the tithes of God; and we have been of late paying the arrears of it by wholesale, disgorging by millions those sacrilegious usurpations which we have been sucking in all that time: and God has emptied them from us into foreign and popish nations: For we

Hos. ii. 8. from us into foreign and popish nations; For we knew not that he gave us corn, and wine, and oil, and multiplied our silver and our gold, which we have prepared for Baal: therefore has he recovered it out of our hands. We thought it was our own skill and strength which got us all these riches, by

Hab.i. 16. which our portion was made fat, and our meat plenteous: therefore we sacrificed to our net; but thought it needless to acknowledge God in all this by giving him a tenth. Shall he not therefore empty our net? We have emptied it with our own hands; yet will not see this to be a judgment from God: but we shall see and consider, for he is stronger than we. We thought a tenth too much for God, and grudged the ordinary tribute of our kings; but have paid ten times over by extraordinary ways and means. We robbed God of his tribute, the tithe, and thought it good husbandry to save it in our own pockets; and he has taken the nine parts from us, and not left us a tenth of what but a few years ago we possessed. And what will be the end of these things? Except ye repent—

If any think that the seizing of the tithes in Henry VIII.'s time cannot be visited now, one hundred and eighty years after, let them reflect that God visits the sins of the fathers upon their children to the third and fourth generation; that he bore with the Jews in their continual breach of the sabbatical year for four hundred and ninety years; yet forgot it not, but punished it afterwards with a fearful destruction, even the captivity and removal of the whole nation for seventy years together. Pray God we may not continue to provoke him to the same degree.

VI. What shall I say more? We have the promises of God, who cannot lie, that if we will shew our trust and dependence upon him, so far as to give him a tenth; if we will thereby acknowledge him to be our God, and that by his blessing we are made rich, he will return it to us an hundredfold, till there shall not be room enough to receive it. Again, if we will not trust to him, but to our own net, that he will empty it, and shew himself to be our God by manifold judgments, till he overcome us, and make us see and confess that it is he who hath done all these things unto us, and that there is not an evil in the city which he hath not sent upon us.

We have seen the faith of Jews and heathens to

exceed ours. It was a proverb among the Jews, Pay tithes, and be rich: so much they acknowledged all that they had to come from God. And the heathens made the same observation, that they who paid most to God did receive most from him: they saw God's judgments upon them for not giving him his tenth; they repented and restored the tithe, and were delivered; but we Christians remain the only incurable infidels: we will not trust God, but provoke him to convince us by all his judgments! which God avert, by opening our eyes and enlarging of our hearts, that with a sincere repentance for all our other sins, we may likewise restore his tithe, and learn to trust in him: that he may yet repent for all the evil he has brought upon us, and with which he still threatens us, and may leave a blessing behind him, even a meat-offering and a drinkoffering unto the Lord our God; that there may be meat in his house, and thereby plenty in ours. May his judgments have this happy effect with us, to make us search and try our ways, to examine seriously this matter of tithe, and to turn again to the Lord, in this as well as in any other breach of God's commands; of which we have many to reckon, and this not the least. Now is the time to search out all: for when God's judgments are upon the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness, Isa. xxvi. 9.

SECT. XIV.

Of what things tithes are to be paid.

I. Answ. Out of all your gifts, Num. xviii. 29. Έν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς, Gal. vi. 6, of all our goods or good things; of all things that God gives us; of all things

wherein we expect the blessing of God: for all come under the same reason of paying tithe, as an acknowledgment and tribute to God for the nine parts which he has given to us; and to shew our dependence and trust in him for all that we shall receive. All the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of the land, or of the fruit of the tree, is the Lord's: it is holy unto the Lord, Lev. xxvii. 30. Thou shalt truly tithe all thy increase of thy seed, that the field bringeth forth year by year, Deut. xiv. 22. The first-fruits of corn, wine, and oil, and honey, and of all the increase of the field; and the tithe of all things: the tithe of oxen and sheep, and the tithe of holy things which were consecrated unto the Lord their God, 2 Chron. xxxi. 5, 6. Of all that thou shalt give me I will surely give the tenth unto thee, Gen. xxviii. 22. Honour the Lord with thy substance, and with the first-fruits of all thine increase, Prov. iii. 9. So shall thy barns be filled with plenty, &c. This is the reward God has promised to it, (if we dare trust him.) And whereinsoever we expect God so to bless us, of all those things we must pay him the tenth; else have we no title to this promise. And this was the notion of the Jews. I give tithes of all that I possess, said the Pharisee, Luke xviii. 12; and our Saviour determines, Matt. xxiii. 23, that we ought to pay tithes even of mint, anise, and cummin, i. e. of the smallest things.

This was the sense of all the fathers in the primitive ages of the church: they excepted nothing from tithe; of which I have given some instances, and many more are to be produced.

II. We are moreover bound to this by the so-

lemn vows, dedications, and laws of our predecessors, kings and parliaments of England, before mentioned. In the first great charter, or act of parliament of king Ethelwolf, which I have already mentioned, and which Selden recites, (ut supra,) p. 200, it is thus vowed, constituted, and ordained: Unde etiam cum obtestatione præcipimus, ut omnies studeant, de omnibus quæ possident, decimas dare, quia speciale Domini Dei est; i. e. "Wherefore "we command and abjure all to pay the tithe of all "things that they possess, because it is the peculiar "of the Lord God."

And thus it is in all the following grants and dedications of the kings and parliaments downwards.

Many of which are recited by Mr. Selden, and some of them descend to name all particulars that well could be thought of. As in the laws of Edward the Confessor, set down at large by Mr. Selden, c. 8, n. 13, p. 224, 225, which names tithe de omni annona, of all sorts of provisions, victuals, wages, or any income: moreover of colts, calves, cheese, milk, lambs, fleeces, pigs, bees, wood, hay, mills, parks, warrens, fishing, orchards, gardens; et negotiationibus, trading, merchandise, and all business; et omnibus rebus quas dederit Dominus, " of " all things whatsoever that God gives us," decima pars ei reddenda est, " we must give the tenth to "him." Qui autem detinuerit, per justitiam episcopi et regis (si necesse fuerit) arguatur. Hæc enim B. Augustinus prædicavit; et concessa sunt a rege, baronibus, et populo; i. e. " And if any de-"tain his tithe, he is to be compelled to pay them " by the justice of the bishop and the king, (if there " be need for it;) for so St. Augustine did preach:

"and this is granted by the king, lords, and com-"mons." It were endless and needless to repeat all the rest of the like acts of parliament, which are all of the like strain and import.

It is shewn before, that this was the universal notion of the heathens in all nations, that tithe was to be paid of all things, of all merchandise and trading, of all manual labour, and of all spoils taken in war, as well as of all estates personal and real, of every thing that God gives.

This was the concurrent notion of Heathens, Jews, and Christians, till popery of late has corrupted it, from whom we have licked it up.

SECT. XV.

If the payment of our tithe to the poor, or other charitable uses, be a due payment of our tithe.

I. Ans. NO. It is shewn, sect. IV, that some part of our substance is due to God as an act of worship: and it is proved afterwards that that proportion is a tenth at least: therefore it must be paid as an act of worship, which is different from an act of charity. The Jews paid their tithe to the priests, not to the poor; they paid a second tithe to the poor: and this was purely an act of charity. But the tithe of God must be paid only to his priests, as other sacrifices and offerings were, of which the tithe was a part, as before is shewn. If we give to the poor out of God's tenth, we give what is none of our own; we rob God to pay man, and commit sacrilege for charity: therefore we must give to the poor out of our own nine parts. And this was the current doctrine and practice, as of the Jews under the law, so of the Christians before that invasion (spoke to

above) of the pope and his emissaries upon this inheritance of God: to which God's title had not been disputed, before that time, since the beginning of the world, no not by the heathen.

II. Moreover we are under the indispensable and sacred obligation of the many vows of our ancestors, (the force of which I have urged before,) not to employ the tithe of God to other charitable uses, but to perform them out of our nine parts; for this was the sense and meaning of all these dedications of tithes before mentioned. In the first of which, (confirmed by all the rest,) the charter of king Ethelwolf, of which I have recited some part already, it is expressly cautioned, (as set down by Selden, ubi supra, p. 199,) that nemo justam eleemosynam de his quæ possidet facere valet, nisi prius separaverit Domino, quod a primordio ipse sibi reddere delegavit; i. e. " None can justly give alms out of any "thing that he possesses, till he has first separated " out of it to the Lord that which from the begin-" ning he hath commanded to be rendered to him-" self." And this is ushered in with sicut Sapiens ait, " as the Wise Man said;" which shews that it was an anciently received and approved doctrine at that time.

And these words immediately following do contain the sanction or curse that attends the doing otherwise: Ac per hoc, plerunque contigit ut qui decimam non tribuit, ad decimam revertitur; i. e. "And by this it often comes to pass, that he who "does not pay his tenth is reduced to a tenth." Unde etiam, cum obtestatione, præcipimus ut omnes studeant, de omnibus quæ possident decimas dare, quia speciale Domini est; et de novem partibus sibi

vivat, et eleemosynas tribuat; i. e. "Therefore we "command, with obtesting, (i. e. before God,) that "all should take heed to pay the tithe of all that "they possess, because it does peculiarly belong unto "God; and let him support himself, and give alms "out of the remaining nine parts."

The same says St. Augustine, in his sermon de reddendis Decimis, (tom. x. 219, serm. de Tempore,) where he exhorts all that would obtain the remission of their sins, or prosperity in this world, to pay their tithe to God, and give alms to the poor out of the remaining nine parts.

SECT. XVI.

When tithes are to be paid.

Answ. BEFORE any of the nine parts be touched, that is, converted to our own use, God is to be first served; and besides that, the whole being God's, the nine parts are not released to us but by offering the tenth to God. This has been a received notion, even among the Gentiles as well as Jews and Christians; insomuch that it grew into a proverb among the Greeks, ἄθυτα ἐσθίειν, " to eat of things that had "not been sacrificed," i. e. of which some part had not first been sacrificed or offered to God, viz. that part which they thought due to the gods, which I have above shewn to be the tenth. And this saying, άθυτα ἐσθίειν, was used to express the most wicked profligate, who had no sense of his duty to God or man; such was he thought who durst be so profane and irreverent to God as to eat or make use of any thing which had not been hallowed by offering first the tenth of it to God. And, as among the Greeks, so Pliny tells, (Nat. Hist. lib. xvIII. c. 2. p. 367,) that the Romans never tasted of their fruits or wines till the priests had first taken the first-fruits or tithe out of them. So the Arabian law. See above, p. 316, &c.

And this was correspondent to the law of God himself, who commanded, Lev. xxiii. 14, Ye shall eat neither bread, nor parched corn, nor green ears, until the selfsame day that ye have brought an offering unto your God: it shall be a statute for ever. And Numb. xviii. 30, When ye have heaved the best thereof from it, then (and not before) it shall be counted as the increase of the threshingfloor, and of the winepress; i. e. to be eaten and made use of. Again, ver. 32, And ye shall bear no sin by reason of it, when ye have heaved from it the best of it; i. e. that it would be a sin to eat of it without first offering to God his due, that is, the tenth, as it is expressed, ver. 26. And it was a sin, even unto death, in the Levites, if they ate of any of the tithes which the people gave to them before they had offered the tithe of their tithe to God; which he gave to the high priest, and was called the heave-offering of the Levites: and their converting any part of the people's tithes to their own use, before they had made this heave-offering of a tenth of it, was called a polluting of the tithes of the people which they had received, and made them liable to death: ver. 32, And ye shall bear no sin by reason of it, when ye have heaved from it the best of it: neither shall ye pollute the holy things of the children of Israel, lest ye die. Thus our entering upon any part, before we have offered to God his tenth part, is a polluting of the whole as to us. For it is sanctified to us by

our offering the tenth to God; till when, the whole is hallowed to God, and it is sacrilege to invade it. Nor is any of it released to our use, till God's part be first taken from it.

And you see how strictly this was enjoined by God, and how universally; that as the people were not so much as to taste of any of the fruits of the earth, no not the green ears, till they had offered to the Lord his part out of it, by giving it unto the Levites; so neither were the Levites to taste of any of the people's tithe till they had first offered the tenth of their tenth to God, by giving it to the high priest, and that under pain of death, and of rendering the whole polluted to them. He that steals any of his goods to his own use, before he has given to God his tenth, steals it and all the rest from God's blessing, and tries if he can grow rich whether God will or not; which if God permit, it is for his greater judgment: and God can exact it from him or his posterity, upon whom we entail God's curse when we deprive God of his due.

SECT. XVII.

Of what part of our goods the tithe is to be paid.

OF the very best, no doubt; for we offer it to God: and in this we express the reverence due to the divine Majesty. And to offer any thing to him that is not the best we have, argues a slight and contempt of him, and preferring ourselves or something else before him. Therefore, though we give the full proportion of a tenth, yet if we give it not of the very best, we fail as to the quality of our gift, though not as to the quantity: we forfeit the blessing upon the whole; and instead of that, we bring

a curse upon us, as seeking to deceive or blind the eyes of God, as if he took no notice, or did not regard it: which is a greater contempt of God, than if we did not offer to him at all. But cursed be the deceiver, who hath in his flock a male, and voweth, and sacrificeth unto the Lord a corrupt thing: for I am a great King, saith the Lord of hosts, and my name is dreadful among the heathen, Mal. i. 14. But I need not insist upon this; the commands are numerous, and cannot escape the observation of any, that whatever was offered to the Lord was to be without blemish, Deut. xvii. 1; and the texts before quoted, Numb. xviii. 30 and 32, do, among many others, plainly express it. When ye have heaved the best thereof from it, then it shall be counted as the increase of the threshing floor, &c. And ye shall bear no sin by reason of it, when ye have heaved from it the best of it: i. e. if you do not heave the best, it will be a sin, and you shall bear it.

As to the same notion among the heathen, see above, p. 303, and p. 319.

SECT. XVIII.

Who they are that ought to pay tithe.

Ans. ALL that worship God; for tithe is a part of his worship. 2. All that expect his blessing upon the remaining nine parts, and upon their future labours and endeavours.

Object. Though the rich may bear this, yet it seems very hard upon the poor. Ans. It is no harder to the poor than to the rich, because they pay proportionably. So equal is this tax of God's imposing! After the tithe of worship, the Jews were obliged to pay another tithe of charity to the

poor, which was called the poor man's tithe. And this latter sort of tithe no man was obliged to pay to any who was not poorer than himself: by which rule the very poorest sort are excused from this tithe. But none are excused from the tithe of worship more than from their prayers, or any other part of God's worship: none must appear before the Lord empty; there is no exception from this rule. If it be said, what does such a modicum signify which a very poor man can give? Answ. It is accepted by God as much or more, if given with a better heart, than the great offerings of the rich. The poor widow's two mites were reckoned more than all that the rich had offered of their abundance, Luke xxi. 3.

Observe, that those priests to whom this widow gave her two mites were rich, and covetous beside; they devoured widows' houses, Luke xx. 47. They were these to whom our blessed Saviour said, Ye Matt. xxiii. serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape 33 the damnation of hell? Yet he made it no objection against this religious widow, that she should throw in her mite to swell the wealth of those wicked men who were much more capable to have relieved her great necessities, than she was to add to their store; for he knew, and has instructed us, that her offering was to God, and not to the priests, though the priests did receive it, and it was put into their treasury; yet Christ calls those gifts which were cast into it, the offerings of God, Luke xxi. 1, 4.

Let us observe, in the second place, that this farthing which the widow gave was only a freewill offering, which was of less obligation than the tithe; for the tithe was positively required, and might be exacted if not paid: how will this rise in judgment against those who have not the heart to give what is barely due, and think a tenth too much when it is commanded!

It has been before observed, how the primitive Christians gave, many of them, all that they had, as this widow had done, but none less than a tenth; for that they thought themselves bound to give more than the Jews, because (as Irenæus said) they had a better hope.

Now the first-fruits, the tithe to the Levites, the second tithe to the poor, the tithe for feasts, the corners of their fields, which they were forbid to reap, and the gleanings, which they were not to gather, Lev. xix. 19, are computed not to leave to the owner above a fourth or a fifth part clear to himself; out of which their daily and multitude of occasional offerings for legal uncleannesses, besides their voluntary or freewill offerings, which cannot be reckoned, were to be taken.

How far short then of the Jewish performance, and how much shorter of the primitive Christian devotion do we come, who will not pay the one tenth, even of worship, which is indispensably due to God himself, which he has reserved by an universal decree, ever since Adam! How will the heathen rise up in the judgment, and condemn us, who have through all ages and nations made conscience of paying the tithe of God, though they worshipped God in this, as in other parts of their worship, after an unlawful and idolatrous manner! How will this condemn us, who stand out against the light and universal tradition which they had, against the positive commands of the Law and the Gospel, and

against the current sense of the primitive and universal church of Christ, and oppose to all these the modern corruptions of the church of Rome, which have made tithes eleemosynary and alienable. And we have alienated them in a much more scandalous manner, and upon less pretence, than Rome had done: she gave them from the secular to the regular clergy; we, from all clergy to the laity. This was a piece of popery whereby a penny was to be got; therefore we reformed it backwards into our own pockets! Our Jehu destroyed Baal indeed out of the land, but he departed not from the sin of the golden calves, 2 Kings x. 28, 29.

SECT. XIX.

If tithes may be commuted or redeemed.

 TITHES are a part of God's worship, instituted by himself, and therefore cannot be altered or changed but by himself.

No man might alter or change any part of the sacrifices under the law.

He might not sacrifice a bullock for a sheep, where a sheep was commanded, though a bullock was of more value: we must keep close to the institution of God.

And tithe was one of the offerings under the law, it was an heave-offering, (as before is shewn,) and therefore could not be bought off or redeemed.

And to prevent all such redemption of tithe, it was ordered, Levit. xxvii. 31, that if any would redeem ought of his tithe, he should add thereto a fifth part thereof: and, ver. 33, both it and the change thereof shall be holy; it shall not be redeemed. And Ezek. xlviii. 14, They shall not sell

of it, neither exchange, neither alienate the firstfruits of the land: for it is holy unto the Lord. And so the Jews of after-ages understood it, as we may see in Judith xi. 13, 14, 15, where it is declared to be unlawful for the people, though in the greatest extremity, to meddle with the tithes, or so much as to touch them with their hands, and that it was not dispensable by the senate. And so the heathen thought, Gen. xlvii. 22, 26, that the lands of the priests were not to be sold upon any account, even when the people were forced to sell all, and themselves too, for the greatness of the famine. And if the lands given to the priests were held so sacred, as being dedicated to God, much more the tithe, which were dedicated likewise, but moreover were antecedently reserved by God himself, which the Gentile world did believe as well as the Jews, as before is shewn.

II. Again, for another reason, tithes cannot be redeemed by us, because they have been so oft vowed and dedicated to God, as before has been said. And it is expressly commanded by God, Lev. xxvii. 28, That no devoted thing, that a man shall devote unto the Lord of all that he hath, both of man and beast, and of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed: every devoted thing is most holy unto the Lord.

But the pope and a popish parliament first have dispensed with this, out of the plenitude of their power!

And their pardon is all that either of their impropriators will have to plead at the day of judgment.

III. These had no other consideration of tithe but as a maintenance for the clergy; and if they provided for them another way, where was the harm?

But the folly of God is wiser than men: he knew well what would be the consequence of having the clergy depend upon any for their subsistence; that the temptation was too strong for human nature, in our fallen condition; that time-servers and menpleasers would by this creep into church, and sow pillows under the arms of those who fed them; that by this they must fall into contempt, and religion with them, as the effect has sadly shewn.

Therefore God would not give the Levites temporal possessions among their brethren, for these would be liable to their municipal laws, like the rest; and they might be voted out and in, be chopped and changed according to the caprice of those who would not abide their doctrine: but he settled upon them his own inheritance, as he calls it, Deut. xviii. 1, which none others might touch without sacrilege, and throwing off their homage and allegiance to God himself, i. e. rejecting him from being their king and their God; (which nowadays is the slenderest sort of security:) that as the priesthood had its original and institution, so it should have its revenue and maintenance and dependence from God alone.

And as they that served God at the altar were partakers with the altar, i. e. with the dues of God, which were offered upon the altar; even so hath the Lord ordained, that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel, i. e. of those things which are due to God under the gospel, (as tithes and free-will offerings still are,) and should be as free and independent on man in their office as the priests were under the law.

SECT. XX.

To whom tithes are to be paid.

- 1. THE tithe of charity, or the poor man's tithe, being alms, we may dispose of them to such objects of charity as we think best: and these are called *sacrifices* in a large sense under the gospel, as well as under the law. See Heb. xiii. 16, Phil. iv. 18.
- 1. But there is a preference given, Gal. vi. 10, to that charity which is extended to the household of faith, that is, to our fellow-Christians rather than others: Christ reckons it as done to himself, Matt. xxv. 40.
- 2. The reason of this carries it likewise, to prefer the members of the true church before sectaries; yet so as not to neglect even sectaries, Jews, or infidels; for all that are in want are objects of our charity, whether good or bad; all must be supported: and while God grants to the most wicked person life, and time of repentance, we ought to contribute towards it, by preserving that life which God continues to them: for they are our brethren, and God has made of one blood all nations upon the earth: they are the image of God; Christ has shed his blood for them, and may yet grant them repentance, and make them glorious saints of his kingdom. Therefore charity must extend to all without exception, though not without discrimination.
- II. That this charity must of necessity be a tenth, and not under, I do not contend. For though the Jews did pay a second tithe to the poor, yet that stands not upon the same foundation as the tithes of worship which were before the law, and universally received from the beginning of the world.

Yet since the Jews did pay a tenth to the poor, I think we ought not to pay less; but rather more, because, as Irenæus said, "we have a better hope." But I stint not the proportion; only recommend St. Paul's advice to our consideration, that he who 2 Cor. ix. 6. soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly; and he who soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully.

III. But now as to the tithe of worship, as that is determined to a tenth at least, so must it be paid only to the priests of the Lord: because it is part of God's worship, it is one of the offerings of the Lord; and as other offerings and sacrifices, it cannot be offered but by the priests. And particularly as to the offering of our first-fruits and tithes, it is commanded to be done by the priests: it is in-Deut. xxvi. vading of the priest's office for any other to offer it. 2, Chron. The same sin for which God smote Uzziah, and re-xxvi. jected Saul; and declared it death for any but his 12. priests to offer upon his altar. And the sacrifices of such, who offer them by any other hands than those of his priests, are so far from being accepted, that they are sin, and, like the offerings of Korah, rebellion against God.

IV. But how shall they do who live in foreign, infidel, or heretical countries, where they can have no priests, that is, none whom they own?

1. Let them, if they can, imitate the zeal of Tobias, who being of the ten idolatrous and schismatical tribes that had cast off the priesthood of Levi, carried his tithes to Jerusalem, and offered them there by the hands of the priests the sons of Aaron, as you find, Tob. i. 6.

2. But if this cannot be done for the distance of

the place, or other insuperable difficulties, then they ought to send their tithes to such priests whom they think to be true priests of God, and consequently by whose hands they believe God will accept of them.

There is no place too far for sending. We traffick for mammon to all parts of the world.

It was common with the Gentiles to send their tithe; of which several instances are before given.

Mr. Selden shews this a, that tithes $(\pi \epsilon \mu \pi \cos \tau \alpha \iota)$ were yearly sent to Delos, where Apollo was born, to be offered to him there.

The Carthaginians b used to send their tithe to Tyre (whence they had come) by one clothed in priestly purple robes, to be offered to Hercules.

And if we cannot take so much pains, we have less zeal than they; and less trust in our God, less faith in his promises, and fear of his threatenings, than they towards their idols; and our reward will be accordingly.

SECT. XXI.

In what manner tithes ought to be offered.

I. THE offering of our tithe to God being an act of worship, ought no doubt to be performed with prayers and adoration of God: and God himself did prescribe a form for it, Deut. xxvi.

Out of which, and other scriptures, respecting Christians as different from the Jews, I have composed the form hereunto annexed: not that I would impose it upon any; but the church not having prescribed such an office, leaves it to private Christians to exert their own devotion. And if what I have

^a Hist. of Tithes, c. 3. p. 30. ^b Justin. Hist. lib. 18. p. 186.

done may be helpful to any others, I have the end for which I have published it.

II. And as under the law a basket of the first-Deut.xxvi. fruits was to be brought to the altar, and there 4 offered in name of all the rest, which were reposited in the storehouses belonging to the temple for that purpose; so I conceive it ought to be with us. The reason is the same; and was before the law and without the law so practised by the Gentiles, pursuant to the universal tradition received, and deduced down all the way from Adam, as before has been discoursed.

Nor can it otherwise, at least not so properly, be made an act of devotion; that is, an actual tender and offering of the whole to God; which is not done by barely parting with our tithe, or suffering it to be drawn from us. The whole cannot be offered at the altar, but a basketful in the name of the whole is a dedication and offering of the whole.

Accordingly it was ordered in the Apostolical Canons, can. 4, that no more of the first-fruits should be brought to the altar than there was use for there, as the elements for the holy sacrament, &c.; and the rest to be sent to the bishop's house, as the repository for them. For the church was not then divided into particular and distinct parishes, as now.

III. And surely if the husbandman should at the end of his harvest bring a basket of his first-fruits and offer it at the altar, with thanksgivings to God for the increase he had given him that year, with supplications and prayers for God's future blessings upon his labours, upon himself, his family, and relations, upon the church, and the king, and whole nation, &c., it would tend to a great increase of devo-

tion, and imprint very strongly upon our hearts our dependence and trust in God: for there is no time wherein men are more sensible of the immediate hand of God, than in the seasons of the year, and the weather, especially in harvest-time.

This God hath kept in his own hand more immediately than any other part of the material creation. The courses of the heavens we know in a great measure; and therefore can foretell eclipses, changes of the moon, rising and setting of the sun, &c. But all the rules of mechanism are at a loss for the change of the weather. If that depended wholly upon second causes, and were part of the clockwork (as the virtuosoes express it) of the creation, there would be the same necessity for the same weather on every such day of every year, as for the equinox, solstice, or other change of the seasons.

xxviii. 25,

Therefore says the prophet, Can the heavens give showers? And Job reckons this among the wonder-Job v. 10. ful things of God, who giveth rain upon the earth: to make the weight for the winds; and he weigheth the waters by measure. When he made a decree for the rain, and a way for the lightning of the thunder.

> And David expresses the same almost in the same words, Psalm exxxv. 7, He causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth; he maketh lightnings for the rain; he bringeth the winds out of his treasuries. The same is just so said Jer. x. 13; and Psalm exlvii. 8, 15, &c. Who covereth the heaven with clouds, who prepareth rain for the earth-He sendeth forth his commandment upon earth: his word runneth very swiftly. He giveth snow like wool: he scattereth the hoarfrost like

ashes. He casteth forth his ice like morsels: who can stand before his cold? He sendeth out his word, and melteth them: he causeth his wind to blow, and the waters flow.

These are kept out of the ordinary course of natural causes, in God's more immediate government. They are therefore called his treasures, and reserved against the day of trouble, against the day of battle and war, Job xxxviii. 22, 23. Then shall the right-aiming thunderbolts go abroad; and from the clouds, as from a well-drawn bow, shall fly to the mark. And hailstones full of wrath shall be cast as out of a stone bow—Yea, a mighty wind shall stand up against them, and like a storm shall drive them away, Wisd. v. 21, &c.

These are God's armoury, and kept in his own hand; and come not by certain rules, as the rising and setting of the sun, the solstices, eclipses, &c.; and therefore are looked upon as the more immediate acts of God, and instances of his power: therefore David says, His strength is in the clouds, Psalm lxviii. 34. The thunder is called his voice. The storms at sea, and commotions of the waters, are said to be his act in his immediate governance: as it is said, Prov. xxi. 1, The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water: he turneth it whithersoever he will.

It is the Lord that commandeth the waters: it Psalmxxix is the glorious God that maketh the thunder: it is ^{3,4} the Lord that ruleth the sea. The voice of the Lord is mighty in operation.

They that go down to the sea in ships—these Psalm cvii. men see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in ^{23, &c.} the deep. For at his word the stormy wind ariseth,

and lifteth up the waves thereof-For he maketh the storm to cease, so that the waves thereof are still.

Nothing that is fixed and certain, in the constant course of natural causes, is called a wonder of the Lord; else every thing would be equally a wonder: nay, it would be a wonder if it were otherwise; as, if the sun should stop or go back; if the returns of day and night, summer and winter, should fail. These would be great miracles, which therefore God very seldom shews; (else nothing would be left constant or certain in nature, but all return to their old chaos.) And then they would cease to be miracles, if they were done as oft as every body would call for them.

But God hath reserved some things out of the ordinary course of nature; and in these he shews daily wonders of his providence.

17.

He calls this his witness among the Gentiles: Acts xiv. that as by his works of creation he had demon-Rom. i. 20. strated his eternal power and Godhead; so he had given them an equal proof of his providence, and of their continual dependence upon him, in his sending them rain and fruitful seasons, for which they could assign no natural causes.

Psal. lxxvii. 14, &c.

Thou art the God that doest wonders—The waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee; they were afraid: the depths also were troubled. The clouds poured out water: the skies sent out a sound: thine arrows also went abroad. The voice of thy thunder was in the heavens: the lightnings lighted the world: the earth trembled and shook. Thy way is in the sea, and thy path in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known. We cannot trace God, nor know his footsteps, in his dispensing of these things, as of others which are disposed in the common course of natural causes. Therefore in these things God's power is chiefly shewn; and in these things we are commanded to wait and depend upon him, Lev. xxvi. 4; Deut. x. 14. And he tells us, that he will dispense them to one, and not to another, Amos iv. 7. But things that depend on natural causes are equal to all. We are commanded to pray for rain, Zech. x. 1: but it is not permitted to us, it would be presumption and tempting of God, to ask for altering the course of nature, of sun, moon, or stars, or to break the covenant of day and night.

And the weather, which God thus keeps in his own hand, is no less necessary to our life, in giving us the fruits of the earth, than the fixed course of nature, the influence of the sun, &c.; to teach us that we must depend as much upon the immediate blessing of God, as upon all second causes.

The heathen were sensible of this, and therefore they had, as their *præmessum*, prayers before harvest; so their *flori-festum* after harvest, to express their thankfulness to the gods for the fruits of the earth.

But this people, saith the prophet, (Jer. v. 23, 24,) hath a revolting and a rebellious heart; they are revolted and gone. Neither say they in their heart, Let us now fear the Lord our God, that giveth rain, both the former and the latter, in his season: he reserveth unto us the appointed weeks of the harvest.

Thus we see that this acknowledgment and devotion to God was commanded to the Jews, and ob-

served by the heathen from the dictates even of natural religion.

And what is it that can exempt Christians from paying this, from rendering unto God the honour and tribute due unto his name? Sure they ought rather to exceed than come short of Jews and heathens in this!

It were much to be desired that a public office were appointed for this, and this made part of our solemn devotion.

But, till that be done, I hope it will not be taken amiss by our superiors, to exhort both our priests to receive and the laity to pay this their bounden due to God, and at his altar to offer up his tithes.

IV. The rest, which are not there offered at the altar, should by the owners be brought into storehouses appointed: the priest's drawing of them is scandalous, and more his farming of them: they are all, as well as the first-fruits which were offered, holy unto the Lord; all are offered in the firstfruits: they are not to be commuted or redeemed for money, where they can be brought in kind; they are a sacrifice unto God, and must not be changed; and they who substract, or refuse to pay them, have denied the Lord to be their God, by denying him his tribute; they ought to be cast out of the congregation, and not reputed as Christians: so it was decreed in a general parliament of clergy and laity at London, A. D. 940, in the reign of king Edmund, before mentioned: and this has been confirmed by repeated vows and acts of parliament. We are to bring our tithes and offerings unto the Lord, and not leave him or his priests to draw them, or choose.

And besides the affront to God, it engages the priest and his flock in many disputes and heart-burnings, and often into strifes and lawsuits; which lessens his authority, and renders his labours in-effectual, by personal prejudices conceived against him.

All this God foresaw, and by his law he prevented it; but we are grown wiser than he!

Could the priests under the law set the sacrifices to farm? Would it have been a reasonable proposal to have said to a priest, Your proportion of the sacrifice is a shoulder or a leg; come, I will give you the value of it in money, or next beast I kill I will send you a shoulder or a leg home to your house, and excuse me from the trouble of bringing my sacrifice to the temple? Would not the answer have been, I cannot excuse you from your sacrifice, for it is offered to God, and not to me; my maintenance out of it is but a secondary and the least consideration: I cannot commute or alter the nature or manner of your sacrifice, or take a bullock, if you would give it me, instead of a sheep or a barleycorn, where that is appointed? No more could he commute, or change, or compound for the tithe; for that was a sacrifice, and offered to God as well as the rest, and was to be brought by the owners to the temple, to be there offered to God, in their names, by the priests. The priests were no more to draw the tithes of the people thither than their other sacrifices.

SECT. XXII.

How priests are to pay their tithe.

I. Answ. TO the bishop, as the Levites to the high priest: they are to pay the tenth of their

tenth. And the Levites' tithe, which they paid to the high priest, was as much an offering and sacrifice to the Lord as the tithe which the people paid to the Levites, and under the same limitations: they are called an heave-offering, and holy unto the Lord. The Levites were not to taste of their tenths till they had first offered the tithe of them to the high priest, and of the very best of them; as you may see, Numb. xviii. from ver. 26.

II. Tithes argued the superiority of those to Heb. vii. 4, whom they were paid; whence the apostle inferred the superiority, as of Melchisedec above Abram, so of the priesthood of Melchisedec, and, in that, of the Christian priesthood, above the Levitical.

And as the Levites tithing of the people, or putting them under that tribute, argued the superiority of the Levites above the people; so the high priests tithing of the Levites shewed the superiority of his order above that of the other Levites.

And this is as necessary to preserve the superiority of episcopacy above the order of presbyters in the Christian church.

The reason holds the same; and the Levitical priesthood was an exact type of the Christian: bishop, presbyter, and deacon being the same in the church, that Aaron, his sons the priests, and the Levites were in the temple; as St. Hierom observes, Ep. ad Evagr.

III. If it be asked, to whom the bishop should pay his tithe?

Answ. He having no superior, as Aaron had none, I conceive that he is not under the tithe of worship; for it must end somewhere.

But then, as the heaven returns the tribute of

those exhalations which it draws from the earth in dew and fruitful showers; so the bishop, being the most immediate representative of Christ, ought to distribute his tenths, and more, of charity, and to water his flock with his beneficence.

Thus returning to the poor with increase their tithes, and dispensing the temporal as well as spiritual blessings of God to them.

That the revenues of the church (whatever other abuses were in the administration of them) were applied more to this end than since they came into temporal hands, will be shewn in the next section.

Let it be only observed in this place, that even since the reformation more acts of charity and public works are to be seen from what is left to the church, than from many many times the greater proportion of wealth that is amongst the laity. And this, notwithstanding that there are some thousands of parishes in England which exceed not twenty pounds a year; and but very few of the bishoprics that can afford a decent subsistence with the best husbandry.

And notwithstanding that the church has been for many years (in the revolution of 1641) totally divested of all her revenues.

SECT. XXIII.

The remedy.

HAVING thus far considered the divine obligation of tithes, and the breaches of it that have been in this nation, we ought not to leave the subject till we can propose a remedy, if any such can be found.

I. For the obligation of conscience. That lies

upon every man concerned to restore what has been robbed from God, in order to procure his blessing, instead of that curse which is entailed upon the sacrilegious possession of the spoils of his church, into whatever hands they come.

II. But because this has been a national sin, and these impropriations have been bought and sold upon the credit of acts of parliament, therefore there ought to be a national repentance and restitution; which may be by a tax to purchase the tithes from the impropriators, and restore them to the church, that the whole burden may not lie upon those who have been ignorantly involved in this sin, as having descended to them from their fathers, and may be the whole or greatest part of their estates; though that, nor any thing else, can be an excuse for continuing in any sin. God is able to make amends, and has promised it to those who will trust in him: and, as said before, there are examples of it, even here in England, whose hearts God has touched.

III. The house of commons have in their votes encouraged any to make proposals for the employing and maintaining of the poor, who are now so great a burden upon the nation.

I have no skill at proposals or projects, yet may offer some considerations, which others may happen to improve.

- 1. First then, let it be observed, there never was any tax laid upon England for maintaining of the poor, before the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth, as may be seen in our Book of Statutes.
- That before the reformation the poor were maintained by the clergy, besides what was contributed by the voluntary charity of well-disposed

people. But there was no such thing as poor-rates, or a tax for the poor; the bishops and clergy, as well secular as regular, kept open hospitality for the benefit of strangers and travellers, and the poor of the neighbourhood; and were so obliged to do by their foundations: they had amberies for the daily relief of the poor, and infirmaries for the sick, maimed, or superannuate, with officers appointed to attend them: they employed the poor in work, which is the most charitable way of maintaining them. It was they who built most of all the great cathedrals and churches of the nation; besides the building and endowing of colleges, and other public works of charity and common good: they bound out to trades multitudes of youths who were left destitute; bred others to learning, of whom some grew very eminent; and gave portions to many orphan young women every year. They vied with one another in these things: what superstition or conceit of merit there was in it, we are not now to inquire; I am only telling matter of fact. And God did bless these means to that degree, that the poor were no burden to the nation; not a penny imposed upon any layman for the maintaining of them; the clergy did that among themselves; they looked upon the poor as their charge, as part of their family, and laid down rules and funds for their support.

3. I doubt not but there were faults among the clergy then, and some of them might indulge themselves even to excess; which it is certain was aggravated beyond the due bounds, when commissions to visit churches and monasteries were given to those laymen who were to share the booty, if they could find reason sufficient (themselves being judges) to

have the revenues of the church divided amongst themselves; who (modestly speaking) were not better men than those they dispossessed, nor have made better use of those revenues since they came into their hands. The monks were sinners, but their visitors were no saints.

4. The poor-rates in England come now (as I am informed) to about a million in the year. All this we pay to boot, betwixt having the clergy or the impropriators to our landlords: for the clergy (ill as they were) kept this charge from off us.

And if their revenues were taken from them because they did not make the best use of them, those to whom they were given should be obliged not to mend the matter from bad to worse.

What benefit has the farmer for the tithes being taken from the clergy? Do the people then pay no more tithe? That would be an ease indeed; but they are still paid, only with this difference, that the impropriator generally through England sets his tithes a shilling or eighteen pence in the acre dearer than the incumbent.

- 5. Would it then be an unreasonable proposal to put all the poor in the nation upon the church lands and tithes, which maintained them before, and let the clergy bear their share for as much of them as are left in their hands?
- 6. If the impropriators will not be pleased with this, then let them have a valuable consideration given them for these lands and tithes by a tax raised for that purpose; and return the poor to the clergy, together with their lands and tithes.
- 7. And that the tax may not be thought too grievous, let it be only three years of the present poor-

rates through England; and if that will not do, the clergy shall purchase the rest themselves. Three years purchase is a very good bargain to get off a rent charge which is perpetual, and more probability of its increasing than growing less.

What man in England would not willingly give three years of his poor-rate at once, to be freed from it for ever?

And for the poorer sort, who may not be able, or if any be not willing, then let them have the same time to pay it in as now.

Let the clergy have three years of the poor-rates, payable in three years, and a value put at which the impropriators should be obliged to sell, and after that the clergy shall be obliged to maintain the poor as formerly. And this will cost no more than to double the poor-rates for three years, and so be rid of them for ever.

8. But if those who have swallowed the patrimony of the church will neither eat nor let eat, will neither maintain the poor themselves, nor let others do it who are willing, let them reflect, let the nation consider it, all who have any sense of God or religion left, that since they have robbed God, the church, and the poor, by seizing upon their patrimony, the poor are increased to that prodigious rate upon them, that they are forced to pay now yearly for their maintenance more than all their sacrilege amounts to. So little have they gained at God's hand by their invading of what was dedicated to his service! And he will still prove stronger than they, and may increase the poor till they swallow up the rich who have devoured them. Besides many other ways his judgments have to meet with us, we have paid the price of all our impropriations and arrears within these ten years past, and are paying on still——

9. I must besides tell our impropriators, that in truth, in reason, and in law too, as well of God as man, they have taken these lands and tithes of the church, cum onere, with that charge that was put upon them by the donors of the lands, and by God upon the tithes, that is, of maintaining and providing for the poor. A lessee can forfeit no more than his lease; he cannot alter the tenure: and whoever comes into that lease comes under all the covenants of the lease. Therefore the impropriators stand chargeable, even in law, to keep up that hospitality, the amberies and infirmaries for the poor, the sick, and the stranger, that the clergy were obliged to do while they had their possessions; and in some some sort performed, at least so far as to keep the poor from being any tax upon the nation.

And at the beginning of the reformation, when the laity were first put in possession of these lands and tithes, they understood it so to be, and were content to take them with all that followed them, (any thing to get them;) and did for a while make a show of keeping up the former hospitality, &c. better than the clergy had done; that being the pretence why they took them from the clergy. But when the fish was caught, they soon laid aside the net.

10. There was another and a greater burden put upon these lands, &c. which is, the cure of souls; and that too they undertook. The king turned the supreme ordinary of the church; and the lord Cromwel, as his vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, sat

upon the bishops' bench in the house of lords, and took place of the archbishop of Canterbury, as the more spiritual person of the two, and above him in the church economy. And the mean impropriators came in place of the forfeited rectors, and presented their vicars as they did; but the superior cure was in the rectors, and is transferred to the impropriators.

Who now stand doubly accountable; first, for invading the priest's office: and, secondly, for discharging it as they do; selling their advowsons at market, and looking upon them as mere lay fees; taking bonds of resignation, and other ways and means that are made to accord with lawyers' simony; which I am afraid will not be pleadable at the day of judgment, nor satisfy a disturbed conscience upon our death-bed; besides the scandalous allowances made by many impropriators to their vicars.

Whether the proposal I have made, or any other to the like purpose, will take effect, I know not; but I think it is evident that it would be to the apparent advantage of the nation (upon account) about a million a year; besides many other benefits greater than that. As,

I. The blessing of God; if that is to be reckoned upon in these days. For if sacrilege be a sin, and if these things before spoke of be sacrilege, then, if there be a God, or truth in the holy scriptures, there lies a heavy curse upon this nation, which cannot be removed without restitution of what we have robbed from God.

II. It would in a few years lessen the number of the poor; they would grow less and less: for by putting them to work, as the clergy did, they would be able to support their families, and not multiply beggars upon us without end; and the clergy would find work for them. There are yet churches to be built or kept in repair, schools and other public works to be done. It is now a national charge to rebuild one church, and has taken so many years, that Paul's work is become a proverb. There would not have needed any tax for this more than for the first building of it, if the clergy had their own, who built most of all the churches in the kingdom with less noise.

III. It would improve trade, by so many being bound apprentice, as the clergy did when they had their revenues; and so dispose of the vagrants and loose-livers (who for necessity take to the highway) into profitable employments useful for the commonwealth.

IV. It would improve learning; (but that may be an objection with some:) many a noble genius is lost for want of education, which would then be much more liberal, as it was when the church enjoyed her possessions. And learning was in the dark ages preserved almost only among the clergy, when the bent and inclination of other men ran little that way, except such as were influenced, and many educated by the clergy.

V. Let me add, that it would be more for the advantage of the crown, and consequently of the kingdom. It is well known that these lands paid more in all public taxes, while they were in the hands of the church, than they have done since. And the convocations always taxed themselves much more in proportion than the laity: they paid tenths oftener

than the laity paid fifteenths; which made Charles V. say of Henry VIII, when he seized the lands of the church, that "he had killed the pullet which "laid the golden egg."

VI. Money is the blood of the kingdom; and the circulation of it diffuses life and vigour to every part. Now if, according to what has been said in this Essay, there were a perpetual circulation of the tenths of the kingdom from the people to the priests, from the priests to the bishops, and back again from the bishops to the poor, I submit it to consideration, whether this would not prove a greater advantage to the nation than any that our state projectors have yet found out. God requires nothing but for our good; and his folly is wiser than men.

Let me, lastly, obviate a prejudice I foresee may be taken against my proposal: for prejudices must be answered as well as arguments, and often sway men more.

It may be thought by some, who have no goodwill to the church or religion, that this would make the clergy too great and rich; and they bear no thought with more indignation than this. They had rather the nation should perish, than be saved by the church. It is not to gratify such men as these, but to satisfy others, and guard them against their clamours, that I offer the following considerations.

I. That the number of our clergy is too few. They are not able to attend such vast charges as they ought, especially in London and other great towns, where it is impossible for some ministers, if they should do nothing else, to visit all the families, much less every particular person who is under

their cure; and the like in many country parishes. This is one great cause of the increase of dissenters amongst us of all sorts.

Then our bishoprics are too large, and the bishop's inspection would be much more effectual if he had no more priests under him than he could be personally acquainted with, both as to their learning and conversation.

But these defects cannot, as things now stand, be amended, while there are, as I am informed, above two thousand parishes in England not worth above twenty pounds a year, and many not worth ten. This makes pluralities necessary, and reduces the poor clergy to such contempt, as to render their labours wholly ineffectual; unless to those very few who can distinguish their character from their circumstances: and withal betrays them unavoidably to such ignorance, having neither time to study nor money to buy a book, unless a Dutch System, nor opportunity for good conversation, that nothing less than the power of miracles, as the apostles had, can reconcile respect to them, or authority to their doctrine.

Then the bishoprics are so stript, that, except five or six, there must be the greatest husbandry in the world to make our bishops live in any sort proportionable to their character, besides leaving their children to the parish when they die.

But if the church were restored to her right, then might there be twenty times as many clergy as we have, and their cures brought within a manageable compass; which would keep them from the danger of being overgrown with wealth.

Besides that, if the poor were laid upon the clergy,

as we have been speaking, it would take some years before they would have much to spare; before the number of the poor would be so lessened, by the methods before mentioned, as to allow them to augment the number of the clergy.

There were in the small kingdom of Israel at one time thirty-eight thousand Levites above the age of thirty, 1 Chron. xxiii. 3. England would require many more to perform their function as they ought, to the profit of the people. And all the patrimony that ever the church had in England would not overdo it, to be divided among so many as would be needful of the clergy, and for maintaining the poor besides, together with the building and repairs of churches, schools, colleges, libraries, and many other charges profitable to the nation.

Add another consideration: if there were such a number of the clergy, there would be more provision for many of our sons, whom we cannot now dispose of, at least not so well: and there would not be danger of weakening the strength or wealth of the nation, as in Spain, by so many idle monks as live upon the labours of others, and contribute nothing to the support of the government. That objection cannot lie against the secular clergy, and where there are none other; none that are locked up from the world, and must be maintained only to think; none but who are labourers in the harvest, and therefore worthy of their hire; and whose hire goes not into a bed of sand, like what is given to the regulars, and never returns; but it circulates, like any other money of the nation, and does as much good.

And our clergy are, or may be, as useful as any

others in parliament, in council, and other great affairs of the nation; and those of lower rank as justices of the peace, and other offices for the distribution of justice.

It is a monkish humour (though some know it not) to think that the clergy ought not to intermeddle in secular affairs, or live out of cells. Those who converse in the world, and mind their cures, are in the road certainly of doing most good: these are therefore called the secular clergy, because they live in the world, and use human conversation: but those who run themselves into holes, as if (forsooth!) their sanctity could not bear the common air, and put themselves under rules and models of their own devising, do therefore give themselves the name of Regulars, and would be angels before their time. But men are born into the world to serve their generation; and they who make too much haste out of it, either by taking away their own lives, (as some have done out of conscience,) or by making them useless to the world in retirement, are guilty of the same sin in different degrees.

And the example of Elijah, who was persecuted into a wilderness to save his life, is a very impertinent precedent for them; for he was so far from choosing it, that he thought it an affliction beyond death, and wished to die, 1 Kings xix. 4.

As little will the case of John the Baptist avail them; for his being in the wilderness was in order to his shewing or coming publicly abroad unto Israel. And they who retire for a time, in order to that end, are far from their predicament who put themselves under vows of abstraction for their whole lives They may as well urge the example of our Saviour, who was forty days in the wilderness. But it is happy that they have not the least umbrage in the favour of monkery through the whole life of our blessed Lord: he came eating and drinking, and conversing with publicans and sinners.

As little is there to countenance it in the Acts of the Apostles; they, as their master, went about doing good.

The first Christian monks were made so, not of choice, but necessity; they fled in the heat of persecution to wildernesses and solitary places; where, by custom, they contracted a liking of the lonely, that is, the monastic life; which, as it is natural, they praised for the pleasure of its safety and freedom of thought; for this they could not find any where else, when nothing but racks and gibbets were to be seen for Christians out of the confines of their retirement.

And others, when this necessity was over, out of a superstitious weakness, would imitate this manner of living, and set it up for a constant and the most perfect rule of life; which should all men imitate, the world must perish in a moment. Men may, with as much reason, run themselves into gaols, in imitation of the Christian imprisonments, as into woods and privacies, to act their flights and abscondings: it looks very like what we call children's play; but it comes to too sad earnest when it is set up for a principle.

Thus because the apostle, 1 Cor. vii. 26, gave advice (for himself calls it no more, he said it was no commandment of the Lord) in the case of the present distress, the grievous persecution that then lay

upon the Christians, that it was good, i. e. convenient, and more for their ease and safety not to marry at that time; and because many, for the same reason, did follow this advice, which even natural reason would suggest to any man; (for who would choose to marry, either under sentence of death, or when he was flying for his life?) From this, no ground at all, some have run into what the same apostle does positively call a doctrine of the Devil, 1 Tim. iv. 1, 3, forbidding to marry; counting that a defilement, which God ordained and blessed in Paradise: and though they have made it a sacrament, yet think it so unworthy of a priest, that he shall incur deprivation for it; whereas a slight penance shall satisfy for his fornication or adultery. Thus, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men, and setting them up higher and more sacred than the commandments of God, who has permitted every man to marry, 1 Cor. vii. 2; and has made it honourable in all, Heb. xiii, 4. And the reason given, 1 Cor. vii. 9, better to marry than burn, does include all, and is a general rule which obliges all.

And therefore to prohibit any order or degree of men, without exception, from marriage, is an express contradiction to this rule, and a doctrine of devils; unless we can be positively assured (which is impossible, without a miracle) that they have all the gift of continency to that degree as not to burn: but, on the contrary, we have infallible assurance that they do burn. They own this to be the greatest reason of their mortifications; and they impose penances for their whoredoms and adulteries, though not so great as for their marriage. The examples of their incontinency are manifold and notorious; which yet

cures not their burning: it mixes itself with their devotion; for there are no such anatomies of lust to be found among the most openly debauched, as have proceeded from the heated imaginations of some of the celibate casuists upon chastity; where having the beloved sin before their eyes upon an honourable account, that is, to condemn it, they uncover it, as the judges did Susanna, and fill themselves with its beauty.

How different is the style of the aged or the married pens upon that subject!

Which shews how far the remedies of God's providing are preferable to those of our devising; especially when ours will run counter to his, and that we cry down his to establish our own.

The fury of the first persecutions, from a temporary and prudent forbearance of marriage, run many into an excess in praise of celibacy, which was counted a curse, and a reproach among the most pious of former ages. But the enjoining of it, as it is contrary to the frame of the world, so to the commands of God, and placing a greater sanctity in it than in the state of marriage, is of pernicious consequence, as is seen among those where this principle is set up.

But this is a digression, though not wholly foreign to our business: for such a number of priests as England would require, according to the rules before spoke of, and to be excluded from all civil offices of profit to the commonwealth, and likewise prohibited from marriage, would be an unsupportable detriment to the community and public good. Therefore, though these reasons might have been urged for dissolving the Regulars in the beginning of the reformation, yet they can have no place against the restoring of our secular clergy to what these Regulars as well as others had robbed from them.

As to the point of marriage, we need say no more of it; for it is not grudged to our clergy by any but the Romanists. But there are many prejudiced against their being admitted to any share in the civil administration: they pretend that it is at least an impediment to the office of their calling, which they would have wholly abstracted from the world; and to respect only heavenly things, and that they should be useless in all other respects.

This, as I said, is a spice of the monkish superstition. For I would pray these men to consider whether the practice be not as necessary to a clergyman, as the preaching of good doctrine? and wherein he can shew his practice more, or so beneficially, as in assisting to the making good laws, and preventing wickedness from being established by law? in directing the councils of princes to honourable, just, and pious resolutions, and checking the profane and debauched who are apt to creep in there, especially into the councils of young princes, who are inclined to be most swaved by those who administer to their pleasures? It is not thought unbecoming the gravity of a bishop to be tutor to a young prince; but rather a thing desirable for the public good, to bring him up in the fear of God, and instil virtuous and honourable principles into him. And is it not as necessary as beneficial that he should stand by him, when he comes to the exercise of these principles in the administration of his government, and when he must encounter with many tentations, and is most liable to be circumvented by

wicked and designing men? The young king Joash ² Chron. did that which was right in the sight of the Lord xxiv. ² all the days of Jehoiada the priest, who had brought him up from a child. But after his death, the king fell into the hands of the princes, who cor-Ver. 17. rupted him, and brought wrath upon him from the Lord, and upon the whole kingdom, whom he and they likewise corrupted into idolatry. He also grew tyrannical in his government, and most ingrateful, killing Zechariah the son of Jehoiadah, who had saved his life, and set him upon his throne that had been usurped from him.

God himself made the priests the chief judges, Deut. xvii. even in secular affairs under the law: and does not ⁸, &c. the reason hold the same under the gospel? viz. that they are supposed, and ought to be most conscientious in the discharge of this duty; and consequently, that it is best for the people that the clergy should have the discharge of it. Does not the apostle argue from the same topic, 1 Cor. vi, and think it fit that the church should judge of secular matters?

But Christ said, who made me a judge? that is, Luke xii. in secular matters; and, My kingdom is not of this John xviii. world. It is true: the office of judge in secular 36. matters was then in the hands of the civil magistrate; which Christ came not to disturb or alter, or to set up a temporal kingdom. He gave no civil authority at all to his church: but he no where debarred her from it, if given by the secular power. And the judging which St. Paul speaks of, 1 Cor. vi, is plainly that of voluntary arbitration among themselves, and not encroaching in the least upon the office of the civil magistrate.

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But this shews that it was no ways unfit for clergymen to concern themselves in secular affairs: else it would be as unlawful for them to be arbitrators as judges: for it takes up their time, and engages them in secular thoughts, different from their studies. Yet no man makes it an objection; but thinks it very becoming the office of a clergyman to be a peacemaker, and reconcile differences amongst his flock or neighbourhood, which is impossible for him to do, without understanding something of worldly business. And might he not do this with more advantage, if he were clothed with the civil authority? I have seen the experience of it, and the country very sensible of the benefit of a clergyman in the commission of the peace, where they had that despatch, and justice, and protection, which they bemoaned the want of when he was removed from them. Sure no relation of landlord and tenant, or neighbourhood, can create a concern and tenderness equal to that of a pastor to his flock. And if he be a good man, and understanding, no man can be a fitter magistrate among them, and thereby more recommend himself as to this spiritual office, when they see and taste, and feel his justice, prudence, beneficence, and charity, as well as hear him discourse of it from the pulpit: when he can contribute, and vote, and act for the support of the poor, and be their remembrancer and advocate every assizes and sessions, as well as recommend it in a sermon: when he can browbeat the audacious and profane, and if not convert them, yet keep them within decency, that their infection spread not among his flock: when a debauchee dare not swear two or three rappers in his face, burlesque the holy

scriptures, or speak some obscene beastly stuff, to put a jest upon the parson, without meeting with what he deserves, the correction of the stocks. This in an heathen country was part of their persecution, and they must bear it; but in a Christian nation sure it cannot be misbecoming the character of a clergyman, that he be enabled to preserve religion and morality from the insults and outrage of these sons of Belial, without being forced to sue for it where he may be more laughed at, and see what is sacred turned to ridicule.

What witchcraft is it that has raised in us this contempt, jealousy, and disdain against the clergy! Are they not our sons, brothers, and relations like other men? Do we not expend money for their education, to fit them for that profession? And do we then grudge them the comfort of it, to live like other men? If we bind a son to any the meanest trade, we wish his thriving. Are the clergy then more vicious than other men? I think we cannot with justice say so. But a small blot in a clergyman is more scandalous (as it ought to be) than much more in another man. And this shews them to be, generally, of stricter lives than other men: whereas many liberties, which would give no offence at all in another, would be very ill taken in a clergyman. They do not all live up to the sacredness of their character, (nor ever did;) but we have put them under several disabilities, which have been spoke of, therefore we ought to bear the more with them: and let all the prudent means that can be contrived for their reformation be set on foot; they cannot be too good.

But however, as to the subject in hand, I think it

would be no inconvenience for the public if there were provisions for several thousands of our children (more than there are) among the clergy: and this being joined with other great advantages before mentioned, which would accrue to the whole nation by restoring the ancient patrimony of the church, ought to be no small encouragement towards it.

I have now done with my politics, wherein I have no talent, and return to make a short conclusion from all that has been said.

CONCLUSION.

IF it be a truth, that we ought to honour the Lord with our substance; if that be part of his worship, of the honour due unto his name; if the determinate quantum of a tenth part has been the received notion and practice of the whole earth, ever since the beginning, as far as we have any account of times; if God has promised great blessings, as well temporal as eternal, to our performance of this part of religious worship, the due payment of our tithe to him, and threatened the neglect thereof with severe judgments, even to curse whole nations, accounting it as a robbing of himself; and if we have seen this made good in the heathen nations, as well as amongst Jews and Christians, and visited many years after it was committed, in following generations, to shew that he forgets not this sin, though he may bear long with it.

If there be any thing sacred in vows, made in the most solemn manner by kings, parliaments, and people, with the dreadfulest imprecations and curses upon themselves and posterities, who should alienate or take back to common use what they had dedi-

cated to God and his church: if it be the rule of our law, and determined now every day in Westminsterhall, that what is once mortified to the service of God can never revert to the donor; and that if the particular uses for which he did mortify such lands, money, &c. be superstitious or unlawful, the use is to be amended, and the thing devoted turned to some other holy use, like the censers of Korah: but can never revert to the donor, or his heirs, because the grant is to God and his church, and must so remain, and cannot be desecrated or returned to common use. Nav, though the use should become impracticable, as in the late case of Mr. Snell, who gave a mortification for four Scots exhibitioners in Balliol college in Oxford, for the propagation of episcopacy in Scotland; which being now abolished there by act of parliament, that use is for the present become impracticable; and his heirs who sued for this here in Chancery, offered to give sufficient security, that whenever the use should become practicable, the mortification should be applied to it; but the court would not suffer that. There must be no compounding or jesting with God; what is once mortified to his service must not revert: and the exhibitioners are now maintained upon it in Balliol college, though the use for which Mr. Snell did design it is at present impracticable.

But if the thing mortified, vowed, or devoted, be not any thing of our own, but that which God has antecedently hallowed and reserved to himself, as the tithes, and consequently wherein we never had any property; then the breach of such vows, made only in affirmation, and for the performance of what was our duty before, and though we had not added

the further sanction of an oath to God; I say, the breach of such vows have an additional and great aggravation; as to substract our tithes (which are commanded) would be more heinous than not to make a freewill offering; though when it is offered, it is hallowed as well as the other.

And when we say to God, hallowed be thy name, if we must mean all that is hallowed to his name, as well things as words, that all such be paid to him, then, whenever we repeat the Lord's Prayer, we do again hallow all our dedicated things to God. It is a fresh vow, at least an acknowledgment and recognition of all our former vows; and not only of our own, but of what has been vowed and dedicated by others; especially if we are their successors; for then the obligation descends upon us, and we are answerable for the performance.

All I have to add is, that whereinsoever we find we have done amiss, we should not defer to return and amend, and put not off from day to day. Abraham rose early to sacrifice his only son, whom he loved. There must be a zeal to execute the commands of God, even when most adverse to flesh and blood, to shew the preference we give to God above all other things whatsoever. Without this, we shall never be able to overcome the strong temptations of the world: and when they cannot persuade us, they will retard and hinder us, and make us go heavily about our work; and then they seldom fail to stop us altogether, and finally to disappoint us. For the longer we delay, after we are convinced, we are every day less apt to disengage ourselves from the world: our trust in God grows weaker, when we dare not venture upon it; and by the same degrees

our trust in the world grows stronger; and the longer it continues so, we grow weaker and weaker, and our faith dwindles into less than a grain of mustard seed. Whereas, if we would put on a noble and Christian courage, and but try the experiment, then if we found it answer beyond our expectations, it would increase our faith; and we should rise from strength to strength, and find comforts beyond expression; not only that peace of mind which the world cannot give, but it would be the surest means to attain even the riches of this world; to prevail with God to bless and increase our store, as he has promised; and bid us prove him herewith, if he will not perform it, Mal. iii. 10.

And if a modern example will be any encouragement, he that writes this does assure the reader, that he knows now at this present where tithes are, and have been for some time, punctually paid according to the rules before set down, and the effects have been wonderful, more than an hundredfold, and in manner extremely remarkable and surprising.

Glory be to God.

July 17, 1699.

A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving upon the offering our Tithe to the Priest.

Deut. xxvi. A GENTILE ready to perish was my father, a 5. Rom. xi. wild olive-tree growing out of the paradise of God, 17. the pale of his church: but he sent forth his Son, a light to lighten the Gentiles, and hath shined even Deut. xxvi. unto us: and I profess this day unto the Lord thy God, that I am come unto his glorious gospel, which Gen.xxviii. the Lord swore unto our fathers to give us. And moreover that he hath been with me, and kept me in the way that I have gone; and has given me Deut. xxvi. bread to eat, and raiment to put on: and now be-12. hold I have brought the first-fruits, all the tithes of 13-my increase; I have brought away the hallowed 14 things out of mine house, neither have I taken away ought thereof; but I have hearkened to the Prov. iii. 9. voice of the Lord my God, to honour the Lord with my substance, and with the first-fruits of all mine increase; I have not transgressed his command-Deut. xvi. ments, to appear empty before the Lord; neither 2Sam.xxiv. will I offer unto the Lord my God of that which doth cost me nothing. And, O Lord, that it may please thee graciously to accept this offering at my hands, and to make it well-pleasing in thy sight. Heb. vii. 8. O Lord Jesus Christ, the Priest who ever liveth to receive tithe, and to make intercession for us, receive 1 Pet. ii. 25. this our tribute, our bounden duty and service, O thou Bishop of our souls, in thy goodness, and make Joh. xx. 17. it acceptable to thy Father, and our Father; to thy Heb. vii. God, and our God. O thou, who art able to save 25. to the uttermost those that come unto God by thee, Chap.ii. 18. and to succour them that are tempted, in that thou

thyself wast tempted; O thou merciful and faithful Heb. ii. 17. High-Priest, in things pertaining to God, O do thou make powerful intercession for the sins of the people, who have robbed God in his tithes and Mal. iii. 8. offerings: O thou who didst open the eyes of the blind, open the eyes of this people, and smite, Lord, their hearts, that they may see and consider their horrid sacrilege, and repent and return; and that thou mayest pardon all that is past, all their neglect of paying their tithe hitherto; all mine, O God, who smite upon my breast this day, and, turning myself, I mourn for this great offence, and bless thy name with the utmost powers of my soul, that thou hast graciously and wonderfully had mercy on me. and now, though late, hast shewn to me thy glory and thy truth. O preserve and bless me in it, and bring more and more into it, even this whole people, that this their bread for their soul may never here-Hos. ix. 4. after cease to come into the house of the Lord, that there may be meat in thine house, and that thou Mal. iii. 10. mayest open the windows of heaven and pour us out a blessing, till there shall not be room enough to receive it, that thou mayest rebuke the destroyer Verse 11. for our sakes, that he may not destroy the fruits of our ground, nor our corn cast her fruit before the time in the field, that all nations may call us blessed, Verse 12. that we may be a delightsome land unto the Lord of hosts.

Look down from thy holy habitation from hea-Deut.xxvi. ven, and bless thy people Israel, and the land which 15. thou hast given us. Bless thy holy catholic church, and every land and country where she dwells; (this in an especial manner, O Lord our God;) her governors, the bishops, with the inferior priests and

deacons, and all thy faithful committed to their charge, their kings, their princes, and temporal government. Make them faithful nourishers to thy church, and to bow down their ear to her instruction, and submit themselves to her discipline; that thy worship may be set up amongst us in its purity and fulness; that thou mayest delight to bless us, and to do us good at our latter end.

Isa. xlix. 23.

And now, O Lord and my God, let me return unto thee for a blessing upon myself, a most miserable and wretched sinner, who am less than the least of all the mercies which thou dost daily renew unto me, and for my --- and --- whom thou hast graciously given unto thy servant; and all my family, friends, relations, benefactors, and well-wishers. Gen. xxviii. Feed us, O Lord, with food convenient for us: and

Verse 21. - xxviii. 4,

of all that thou givest us, grant that we may surely give the tenth unto thee, that the Lord may be our God, and may bless the fruit of our body, and the fruit of our ground, the fruit of our cattle, and the increase of our kine, and the flocks of our sheep, that the Lord may command a blessing upon us in our storehouses, and in all that we set our hand unto, when we come in, and when we go out: that we may be blessed in our basket, and blessed in our store; blessed in the city, and blessed in the field: that the Lord may open unto us his good treasure, the heaven to give the rain unto our land in his season, and to bless all the work of our hand; and that we may lend unto many, but not borrow; that the Lord may make us the head, and not the tail; and to be above only, and not to be beneath, when we shall hearken unto the commandments of the Lord our God.

And therefore we do now honour and hallow, and worship thy holy name, in rendering our bounden tribute and service, thy tenth of all our increase, which we offer with thankful and joyful hearts; adoring thy goodness, and praising thy mercy in giving us all that we have.

Blessed be thou, Lord God of Israel, our father 1 Chron. for ever and ever. Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty; for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine: thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all. Now therefore, our God, we thank thee, and praise thy glorious name. But who am I, and what are we, that we should be able to offer so willingly after this sort? For all things come of thee, and of thine own have we given thee: for we are strangers before thee, and sojourners, as were all our fathers; our days on the earth are as a shadow, and there is none abiding.

O Lord our God, all that we have cometh of thine hand, and all is thine own. I know also, my God, that thou triest the heart, and hast pleasure in uprightness. As for me, in the uprightness of mine heart I have willingly offered the tenth unto thee. And pray God that I may yet see with joy all thy people offer the same willingly unto thee. And, O Lord God, keep this for ever in the imagination of the thoughts of the heart of thy people. Lord pre-Psal. x. 17. pare their heart, and let thine ear hearken thereto.

Redeem Israel, O God, out of all his troubles. Ps. xxv. 22.

Our Father, &c.

A Blessing to be pronounced by the priest.

Gen. xiv. 19, 20. Blessed be thou of the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth: and blessed be the most high God, who hath given thee a heart to fear before him, and to fulfil his law. And the God of Israel great

1 Sam. i.

God, who hath given thee a heart to fear before him, and to fulfil his law. And the God of Israel grant thee thy petition that thou hast asked of him, through Jesus Christ, who died for thee. To whom be glory with the Father and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.

THE

HISTORY

OF

SIN AND HERESY

ATTEMPTED FROM THE

FIRST WAR THAT THEY RAISED IN HEAVEN,

THROUGH THEIR

Various Successes and Progress upon Earth, to the final Victory over them, and their eternal Condemnation in Hell:

IN SOME

MEDITATIONS

UPON THE

FEAST OF ST. MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS.



PREFACE

TO THE

HISTORY OF SIN AND HERESY, &c.

IT may be expected that I should make an apology for attempting a subject so seemingly abstruse, and out of the common road; but excuses signify nothing, the performance must answer for itself. Readers are not to be bribed by petitionary writers; and I must leave it, whether I will or not, to their impartial judgment, whether I have walked safely and modestly in so untrod a path; or have improved any thing useful and Christian from it.

The gravity and seriousness with which this subject ought to be treated, has not been regarded in the adventurous flight of poets, who have dressed angels in armour, and put swords and guns into their hands, to form romantic battles in the plains of heaven, a scene of licentious fancy; but the truth has been greatly hurt thereby, and degraded at last even into a play, which was designed to have been acted upon the stage: and though once happily prevented, yet it has passed the press, and become the entertainment of profane raillery.

This was one reason why I have endeavoured to give a more serious representation of that war in heaven, and I hope I may say much better founded than Milton's groundless supposition, who, in the fifth book of his Paradise Lost makes the cause of the revolt of Lucifer and his angels to have been, that God upon a certain day in heaven, before the creation of this lower world, did summon all the angels to attend, and then declared his Son to be their Lord and King; and applies to that day the seventh

verse of the second Psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. The folly of this contrivance appears many ways: to make the angels ignorant of the blessed Trinity; and to take it ill to acknowledge him for their King whom they had always adored as their God; or as if the Son had not been their King, or had not been begotten till that day. This scheme of the angels' revolt cannot answer either to the eternal generation of the Son, which was before the angels had a being, or to his temporal generation of the blessed Virgin, that being long after the fall of the angels.

But if Mr. Milton had made the cause of their discontent to have been the incarnation of Christ, then, at that time, revealed to the angels; and their contesting in such manner as hereafter told for the dignity of the angelical above that of the human nature, his contexture had been nearer to the truth, and might have been much more poetical, in the severe and just measure of poetry, which ought not to exceed the bounds of probability, not to expatiate into effeminate romance, but to express truth in an exalted and manly improvement of thought.

Milton, in the first book of his Paradise Lost, makes Lucifer suppose himself to be self-existing, and so without beginning; which seems incongruous to the knowledge of an angel, though he has deluded some foolish men into that blasphemous and vain opinion, as hereafter shewn. And philosophers of great name have held the eternity of the world, because they were ignorant of its beginning; so that there are more footsteps to warrant this conjecture of Milton's than the former which I have mentioned.

In the repetition of the several heresies which Satan has broached in the world against the truth of the incarnation of Christ, I have but lightly named those of former and early ages, but insisted a little more particularly upon those of our own times, because we are more nearly concerned in them.

And I have now added them to the rest of these sheets,

which have lain by me these several years, without any intention of making them public: but now at last I have adventured to let them run their fate, if perhaps they may provoke more sufficient pens to correct or improve these thoughts to the advantage of religion, and benefit to the souls of men.

I have taken a text that I might keep closer to my subject; for it is no objection against an Essay if the discourse be as regular as that of a sermon.



MICHAELMAS-DAY

REV. XII. 7.

There was war in heaven.

THE subject of this day is a great mystery: but mysteries are to be inquired into; why else were they revealed?

But our inquiries must be with reverence and profound humility; why else are they mysteries?

Our contemplation upon the fall of the angels 1. may be of excellent use to us: it will lay our sin of contemmore lively before our eyes; because the angels plating the sinned first, and tempted us to follow their exam-angels. ple; and therefore it is to be supposed that our sin is like theirs, of the same nature, though differing in circumstances and qualities, as a river alters from its fountain.

I will not deny but this history of the fall of the II. This text is angels may be applied by the apostle to illustrate likewise the conflicts and final victory of the church upon applicable earth, against the malice of men and hell; and may flicts of the very fitly be understood so in this same chapter.

But this does in no ways derogate from the truth of the fall of the angels, and of their war in heaven; no, but by supposing it, and applying it to the church, does more strongly confirm the truth of it; or rather, indeed, does but continue the story; for the war that is now upon earth betwixt the Devil and the church is but the continuance of the same

upon earth.

quarrel which he fought in heaven against St. Michael and his angels.

But the collect for this day applies the consideration of the epistle and gospel and proper lessons to the angels of heaven, to which they primarily belong. And there being many days, indeed all the other holydays of the year, wherein we remember the conflict of the church against the Devil, let us employ this one day as set apart to consider the first and great battle that Lucifer fought in heaven, according to such light as the scriptures give of it, particularly those chosen for this day, especially from these words of my text, There was war in heaven

III. Pride the first sin of the Devil.

The sin of the Devil is generally agreed to be pride, and that from good authority of Scripture, Isa. xiv. 12, How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning !- For thou hast said in thine heart, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God-I will be like the most High. Again, Ezek. xxviii. 14, Thou art the anointed cherub, and I have set thee so: thou wast upon the holy mountain of God-Thine heart was lifted up because of thy beauty, thou hast corrupted thy wisdom by reason of thy brightness.

Though this by the prophet was applied to men, yet it was by allusion to the pride of the Devil.

Thus far in the general, that it was pride.

IV. Which aspires by consequence to with God.

And it is commonly said to be an aspiring to be equal with God. But that cannot be directly, (for we cannot suppose such absurdity in an angel,) but an equality by consequence, if you please, and from consideration of the nature of pride, which sets no bounds to its ambition; for he that desires to be high, would he not be higher, and highest? which is, in consequence, to be God.

But now as to the particular instance of his pride, the occasion, the contest, and the issue of this first discontent of the Devil, which raised a war in heaven, let us with humility inquire, bounding our thoughts within the rule of God's word, to infer no doctrine contrary to any express command in scripture; let us make a resignation of whatever we earn in this harvest, by dedicating the whole to glorify and exalt the doctrine of Christ, and vindicate his virtue from its sorest enemies.

We know the incarnation of Christ was revealed v. to men (Gen. iii. 15.) four thousand years before it nation of came to pass. And we are not to suppose that so shewn to be glorious a mystery was concealed from the angels. the ground of this con-We are told, 1 Tim. iii. 16, that it was declared test in heaunto the angels. And, Tit. i. 2, that it was promised before the world began, which could not be to man. And, 1 Pet. i. 12, that the angels desire to look into it. And the like might be inferred from many places of scripture, particularly from the verses immediately before my text, where the apostle in a vision seeing this war in heaven as it were present before his eyes, plainly tells the cause of it to be the incarnation of Christ, and the malice that the Devil thence conceived against Christ and against his church: The dragon stood before the woman, to devour her child when she had brought it forth. So she brought forth a man child, who should rule all nations: and her son was taken up unto God, and to his throne; as you have it in the fourth and fifth verse: and thereupon, ver. 7, he tells you, there was a battle in heaven betwixt Mi-

chael and the dragon, and their angels on both sides.

You will observe that in this, as in other prophecies and visions, things long past, and to come, are represented as present; and therefore in this chapter the first ground of difference among the angels, the war which thereupon ensued in heaven, and which is still carried on to this day upon earth, and the final issue thereof at the consummation of the world, are all told in one breath, as all present together, as in a picture; for such they were represented to St. John, who in his vision saw all at one view; and thence he speaks of the first revelation God gave of the incarnation to angels or to man, and of the fulfilling thereof in the fulness of time; he speaks here of them without distinction, as of the self-same thing.

But we who must frame our knowledge by steps, let us begin with the first revelation, and thence inquire into this war in heaven, and so descend by degrees till we see Christ actually incarnate, as had been revealed. Thus then we proceed: when the incarnation was first revealed, we reasonably suppose that the good angels looked upon this infinite condescension of God as an act of the greatest glory in God, and in raptures of love adored the divine goodness.

But the other angels, who had their eyes full of their own glory, thought such condescension unworthy of God, and therefore were loath to believe it, at least in that sense they could not understand it, (being blinded with pride;) it was not agreeable to that notion of God which they had, which consisted chiefly in power and greatness, as they belong

to haughtiness: they understood not the nature of love, which only is almighty, and conquers in its condescending; and therefore they argued against it, as St. Peter against Christ's passion, Matt. xvi. 22. He could not believe Christ meant it in earnest, but perhaps to try the zeal of his disciples, to see how much they would be concerned against it, and shew themselves not indifferent that their God should die and be crucified like a thief; therefore Peter would be the first to shew his love to his Master; and to shew it more zealously he took upon him to rebuke Christ for but speaking of such a thing, as if he had heard blasphemy; it was not so much as to be named or imagined; Be it far from thee, Lord: this shall not be unto thee. So little did Peter then understand the true nature and greatness of love! And to shew that this was the error of Lucifer, our Saviour there rebukes Peter in his name, Get thee behind me, Satan: thou art an offence unto me: as if he had been speaking to the Devil himself, who first had a wrong notion of love, and instilled the same principle into men. And this I shew you for the first sin of Lucifer and his angels, that it consisted in a wrong notion of God, (which is the great and mother heresy,) considering of him falsely in his attributes of power and sovereignty: and therefore they could not believe the incarnation could be meant literally by God, as being unworthy his greatness, and so vast a diminution of his majesty, to empty himself into the basest of the order of spirits, and mingle infinite with flesh and blood: and therefore argued against it; not knowing that true power and sovereignty are in the conquests of love, which delights to con448

descend itself, and advance others. But the desire to overpower others by force and violence, and debase them under our power, is so far from almightiness, that it is an impotent vice, which arises from fear and want of strength in our minds: and the more we grow powerful in that sense, the more we fall from that which is true power, that is, to help or advance others; which we may perceive from this experience. Those who overcome by love, advance those they overcome into their love; but who overcome by force, subjugate those they overcome: therefore the conquest of love is giving a greater freedom; and that must be by loosing us from some former thraldom; and that is truly power and greatness: and therefore the conquest of force is taking from us some freedom we had before, but cannot be the giving of any freedom, (for then it would not be force;) and therefore cannot help or free from thraldom; and is therefore impotence, and shares nothing of greatness.

But to subdue one may give freedom to another. Is it not noble to rescue a friend from his enemy? It is: but in so far as it gives help or freedom, it proceeds from love. (And from this very pretence it may be argued, that the glories of pride are but an imitation of the power of love.) But it is more noble to overcome an enemy by love than by force; for by force you only rescue your friend, but by love you convert his enemy, and so rescue him too. Love has for its object only the giving freedom to my friend; to commit force upon his enemy is no part of its design; for it would rather convert that enemy, and so make a friend of him too: and when it does force an enemy, it does it unwillingly, and

thinks it no greater bravery than to remove a stone out of the way I am to go, or to tread through a dirty step. And this mire is all that pride delights in; it delights in mischief, to do others hurt, and throw them down, and thinks that in that consists its own exaltation; a glory to which the plague has a better title than a hero, for the plague destroys more: from which office the Devil, the king of the children of pride, takes his title of Apollyon, a Destroyer; but God delights to be known by the name of Jesus, a Saviour. And if you think that a wild beast has not more right to this honour than any man of arms, the best proof will be to see them grapple together, and then you will easily judge of their strength and courage. If wrath were a more noble quality than love, Christ would not have chose the lamb and the dove for his emblem, and left the dragon and the serpent for the arms of the Devil. To destroy is the courage of a beast; I will deliver thee into the hand of brutish men, skilful to destroy, says Ezek. xxi. 31.

Whereas the exaltation and force of love is in humbling itself to do others good; and the higher it raises others, the greater is its delight and glory; nor does it fear to raise others too high, too near itself, (which is the suspicion of pride,) because its delight does increase by doing good to others; and therefore the higher others rise, its delight is the greater; and when it brings others to be even, one with itself, then its joy is in perfection.

From what we have considered of the nature of love and pride, this then is the result. To be conquered by love is to be exalted, but to be conquered by pride is to be debased; for love humbles itself to

advance others; pride humbles others to advance itself: and which of these two is the most noble is the state of the case, the subject of our present contemplation, in the two greatest instances of either that ever was, or can possibly be, in heaven or on earth.

Of the one, in the incarnation of Christ.

Of the other, in the revolt of the angels.

We have now gained the ground of quarrel which engaged the angels of heaven in a war.

Next let us bring their mighty armies into the VI. The battle of the good field, and examine the conduct of their chiefs, by and evil angels concerning it proceeding upon the principles of love and pride.

discussing their arguments on both sides, each in defence of their principles: for different thoughts is the contest of spirits. And may we not be allowed thus to inquire?

for we shall be their judges: Know ye not that we shall judge angels? says the apostle, 1 Cor. vi. 3.

The good angels, as we have heard, did believe the incarnation when it was revealed to them, as being agreeable to the notion of God which they had, which was all love, and wherein they understood the kingdom and the power and the glory of God to consist; and therefore they did willingly submit to adore the humanity, joined in one person with the Godhead. Submit! did I say? they gloried in it with all their powers, it was their most natural service; for it was a more noble demonstration of the nature of love than ever they had known before; which being a clearer revelation of the divinity was proportionably an increase of happiness to them, as being more nearly reconciled, or admitted to a nearer participation of the divine goodness, the sum, the completion, the furthest of created bliss! having all their joy, their hopes, their exultation and wonders of love, their eternal security and confirmation, all their glory and delight, every thought of their capacious and enlarged understandings, all filled up, gathered together in one, in the contemplation of that stupendous, infinite excess of love, the incarnation of God! the virtue of which wrought up from earth to the heavens, to the confirmation and perpetual increase of felicity, to the blessed angels, as we are taught from Ephes. i. 10, Col. i. 20.

On the other side, the rebel angels could not believe the incarnation when it was revealed unto them, at least in the plain and literal sense of it, as being contrary to that notion of God which they had, which was all haughtiness and pride, (or what they could suppose it is in God, which holds proportion to pride in creatures, for which we want a proper name;) and in this they understood the kingdom, and the power, and the glory of God, to consist; and therefore, as they could not believe, neither could they submit to worship humanity in any condition, though joined in one person with the Godhead. Submit! No, it provoked their contempt, their hatred, rage, and madness against man; and this, carrying them still further from the sight and participation of love, consequently removed them far away from the sight of God, who is love, (1 John iv. 8.) And that is the proper definition of sin and hell and misery; for sin and hell are in effect the same. There is hell, that is, misery, involved in the nature of every sin; because all sin consists in our withdrawing ourselves from God, who is happiness essential, and in his absence only is any misery or unhappiness: and consequently the further we re452

move from him, the greater is our misery. This frees us from an objection, how God, who is all love, can be a consuming fire, and inflict hell: for hell is the natural product of sin: but that it proceeds from God is so untrue, that it can only be where he is not. But God is every where; he is in hell.

That is, he comprehends hell, and understands the nature of it, for that is the seeing of a spirit, or the manner of its being present. But hell does not see him, that is, understand his nature aright, which is the original of pride, and is the being absent from God; and therein consists their misery. Can love be said properly to inflict those torments which proceed only from the want of love? or does the straightness of a rule cause the crookedness of that line which will not keep to the rule? He that hides his adultery or his murder in a cave, may as justly curse the sun for the darkness and the damps which he endures, as the wicked blaspheme the God of love, for the envy and malice and vexation which attend upon their pride. Let us be judged by ourselves. Whence do the terrors of conscience proceed? They proceed from the sense of good we have omitted: it is not then the good which causes those terrors, but, on the contrary, the omitting of that good. The nature of love, like that of fire, converts every thing into itself; but a proud spirit even from thence will draw arguments of envy, and afflict itself; but this proceeds not from the nature of love, but from the nature of pride: therefore pride in its own nature is miserable; and love is always victorious. If any say, how is it that love overcomes pride? after what manner? let him observe how light overpowers the darkness, without noise, but ir-

resistibly: and the grosser the darkness is, the greater does appear the power of the light, and its extent the greater: as death gives place to life, and truth prevails against error, with such arms does love fight against pride. Love is light, and life, and truth; and by whatever degrees love does advance, by the same is its conquest secured; and joy lifts up his head, and sorrow, and shame, and pride, fly before his face. Now the incarnation, being the greatest extent of love, is consequently the greatest shock and humiliation of pride that is possible to be imagined; and so most contrary to the Devil, the father of pride, the greatest destruction and ruin of his principles: as it unites, gives peace and entire satisfaction to the angels of love, so it distracts and runs contrary to all the thoughts of proud spirits. Thus love, which is happiness in the abstract, becomes a torment to those who understand it not, by being seen through a false prospect; and in their madness they blaspheme that love which is their only remedy; and curse it because they have parted from it; and the more it invites them to return, the more do they fret themselves, and in spite run further from it, which still does more incapacitate them to return; and this is that makes hell immortal. And thus it is that the virtue of Christ's incarnation and death wrought down from earth to hell, to the confirmation and perpetual increase of misery to the damned spirits, who have stood out proof against the last remedy, the strongest charm of love that is possible, the incarnation of Christ, and have separated themselves from his love, and pine away a sad eternity in the ruins of their pride irreparable; which grows more obdurate from its being overcome, and from that triumph of love in the incarnation, so far beyond all that it looked for, or could believe; and which therefore being fulfilled, it hates and reproaches with an impotent despair, which is the anguish of hell.

This was the issue of the war, but let us now take a view of the battle.

As Korah and his company were bold to appear before the Lord, and appeal to him, whether Moses or they were in the right, so both armies of angels being persuaded of the justice of their cause, went forth to battle, and were bold, both confident of the victory, to appear and plead before the Lord, for whose honour each party did pretend to fight, (as it is still with us,) which proceeded from the different notions they had of God. Satan argued the majesty, sovereignty, and omnipotence of God; the poor, dejected, worthless condition of man; and hence how absurd and blasphemous it would be, that God should be a man, subject to infirmities and death.

Against whom Michael fought from the same consideration of God's omnipotence, that therefore God might incarnate himself, and the more difficult it did appear to created minds, the greater glory did it bring to God; that the ways were unsearchable by which God did communicate himself to his creatures, whose whole being was a participation of God; and that it was inexcusable presumption for a finite power to determine how intensely an almighty love might bestow of itself, even to denominate what it loves to be one and the same person with itself.

Satan, though dazzled with the refulgence of almighty power, yet still pursues his pride, and contests, that if God should choose a creature to make

one with himself, it sure must be the worthiest: that the nature so joined to the Divinity must be adorable; and that it were against the justice of God to make noble spirits serve a baser than themselves: that therefore, if any, it must be the nature of angels, and not the impure seed of man, that God will assume: and if an angel, who has pretensions beyond Lucifer, the brightest son of the morning, the glory of God's first creation? And in this sense he might be said to aspire to be equal with God, even literally, i. e. to be one and the same person with God: which cannot rationally be made up of any other scheme that we hear yet advanced concerning his rebellion; for no otherwise is it possible for us to imagine how a thought so seemingly absurd, even to us, should arise in the mind of an angel, of being equal with God. But as we have here deduced it, why might he not think that God might be an angel as well or rather than a man? And this we may reasonably conjecture from what is revealed to us. Heb. ii. 16, in these words, He took not on him the nature of angels; but he took on him the seed of Abraham: which argues, as if there had been some such contest, at least gives us leave to think whether it might not be; and from such a suppose (vou see not wholly unwarrantable) I have endeavoured to reconcile the common notion of Lucifer's aspiring to be equal with God, and brought him in arguing for himself as you have heard. Thus did he exalt himself in his pride, and thought his arms invincible! which yet were not proof against the mighty argument of love wielded by St. Michael, who stood victorious in his constancy, on his contemplation of the vastness of the nature of love,

which can endure no limits, and when it gives, knows no reserves; whose glory therefore is extended by the greatness of its condescensions: and therefore infinite love must find infinite condescensions to exert itself: and man being the lowest of rational beings, (which only are capable of union with God,) that must needs be the creature which infinite love will choose to exalt to the extremity of almighty power, to make it even one with God, that so love (which is God) may be all in all, may be the first and the last. And (in man) spirit being joined in one person with a body composed of the four inferior elements, God does by this advance into an union with his own nature the very lowest of his creatures, gross matter itself, as far as possibly it can be made capable: that as all things spring from his love, and from thence do perpetually flow, so do they, in this mysterious incarnation, for ever return thither again: he is alpha and omega, the highest Eph, iv. o. and the lowest; for that he ascended, what is it but that he first descended into the lower parts of the earth? For descending and ascending being relatives, they must hold the same proportion, and therefore none can ascend more than first he did descend. Now Jesus who descended even into hell, is the same also that ascended far above all heavens, that he might fill all things. But such glory of love could not arise from God's advancing the highest creature, because that would not be so great a condescension; and the supreme angel might perhaps attribute something of merit to himself, and despise all below; who might think themselves left behind, or forgot by the eternal Providence; who yet had the same original pretences, being all brought from out

of the same mother, nothing. But in this wonderful economy of the incarnation, all disparity of creatures is taken away; like that of stars in the presence of the sun; eternal love having gathered together in Eph. i. 10. one all things in Christ, both which are in the heavens, and which are on the earth; even in him: who by this has made heaven and earth into one iii. 15. family, and of whom they both are named: and Christ the head of both, from whom (both being made thus into one) the whole body fitly joined to-iv. 16. gether and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love. So that the glory of almighty love shines alone in the many members of this great body; that an angel cannot say to a man or to a worm, There is no need of you, more than the hand can despise the foot, or the eye reject the assistance of the ear: that therefore it is no dishonour for the greatest creature to serve the least, since they are all members of one body, and united in the incarnation of God. Therefore Michael and his angels thought it not only indispensable to adore the manhood in God, but that it was the pitch of their glory, the sum of all possible bliss, to contemplate such love as was unfathomable to the eternal increasing flight of abstracted and enlightened spirits. And not only this, but they rejoiced to be made ministering spirits to the meanest of Christ's members upon the earth, (Heb. i. 6, 7,) and to take their name of angels or messengers from that office assigned them, even to little children, as you are instructed from the gospel for the day, (Matt. xviii. 2, 10:) nav further, they were content to learn of

their pupils, and to be taught by the church the manifold wisdom of God, Eph. iii, 10. But this humility of love Satan despised, and, instead thereof, accused man before God, as unworthy of his union: and both parties appealed to God.

VII. God's determination of the cause.

And what could be the event when love was judge? The accuser of our brethren was cast down, who accused them before God day and night, as you have heard in the epistle. And Michael was justified, who maintained the cause of love, in that almighty condescension of it in the incarnation and death of Christ: They overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, says the epistle; that is, that high instance of love, in defence of which Michael fought, did outshine all the pretended glories of pride, and left the Devil overthrown, astonished, and desperate: and in this did appear the strength, and salvation, and kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ, that is, love in its utmost condescension, which is its victory, and most noble glory, the riches and superabundance of its grace, its natural and beloved conquest.

And now rejoice, O ye heavens, ye angels of his who do his pleasure, who have overcome in this noble contest; and, for your reward, feed eternally on that unexhaustible fountain of love, whose cause you have so truly maintained!

VIII. The same on by the Devil upon earth.

But woe to the inhabitants of the earth, for the war carried Devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, and he deceiveth the whole world, and is come to make war with the remnant which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ. You see the same war is carried on by him upon earth which he fought in heaven.

But before we enter into this second part of the IX. Why Lucibattle, there is a preliminary to be adjusted, which fer and his will be necessary to the carrying on of this war, angels did and that is, that we find a reason why the Devil did to the deternot acquiesce in the judgment which God gave, since God. we suppose that he appealed to it; as Korah and his company appealed to God against Moses and Aaron, and appeared with censers in their hands before the Lord: which cause I have made instance of as a copy of the rebellion of Lucifer.

Towards satisfaction in this difficulty, let us first consider the nature of that obstinacy, which is generally found in error: Non persuadebis, etiansi persuaseris, is a true and common saying; and we read in the gospel of those who seeing, see not, and who close their eyes lest they should see.

We know that spite and malice will provoke that rage which it knows too strong for it, and which will torment it; and will oppose itself out of the excess of madness and folly; of which even our present case is not a plainer instance than what happened in the matter of Korah, our parallel case: for we find, that the very next day after that terrible and unexampled destruction of Korah, Dathan, Abiram, and their confederates, the rest of the congregation mutinied against Moses and Aaron for that very reason, and ran themselves into the same sin, which they had but the day before frightfully bemoaned in the judgment of their brethren, and fled at the cry of them; for they said, lest the earth swallow us up also: and yet they made that very swallowing up the argument of their rebellion, for which fourteen thousand seven hundred died by a new plague. Many the like examples are to be found

in the history of the Jews, and are daily experimented in ourselves, who remain unpersuaded by their judgments, and God's daily providences over ourselves; nor want we our miracles too. And may not we allow as great perverseness in the Devil as we have learned from him, and improve daily by his instigation?

This, I think, is sufficient to clear the matter of fact of Lucifer's discontent and murmuring even against that sentence of God, to which he had at first appealed: and this we have learned from the experience of ourselves.

And from the same we may likewise search out a further reason of this so seemingly an unreasonable a procedure, that should make one act contrary even to what appears to be his own reason: and that, as I conjecture, is this, that error does not beget truth, but increases to more error; and some men will obstinately adhere to their principle; and what seems to make against it, though never so reasonable, if they cannot satisfy it directly, they will frame distinctions and subterfuges, to evade what they are not able absolutely to deny: and this temper is still to be supposed where the mind is not unprejudiced and equal to the truth, on what side soever it shall appear; for that is a preparative indispensable to the obtaining of any truth, and from the want of which alone (were there no other obstruction) all error maintains its ground against the most demonstrative truths. From hence it is I conclude, that pride being the principle of the rebel angels' contest, they could never from thence infer the incarnation of God, though enforced upon them with undeniable arguments, unless they should first abandon their

principle, because it was the greatest contradiction to their principle that could possibly be; and they would not suffer themselves to be persuaded into that docible temper which our Saviour requires, when he so often repeats that most material caution, Take heed how ye hear; for to him that hath, more shall be given, and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath. Obstinacy will confirm itself into more obstinacy; and a good disposition will still take in more of truth, and still grow more and more capable: and the Devil not thinking of forsaking his principle, but to adapt to it the reasons which were offered against it, he could not understand the incarnation literally as it was revealed, but invented distinctions and salvos to reconcile it with his principle; at least to make it militate against his principle as little as he could: as that the person incarnated was some holy creature begotten by God in an extraordinary manner, and therefore called the Son of God; but that it was not very God himself: or, if it must be God himself, that it was not real flesh and blood which he assumed, but only in appearance and show.

It is said indeed in scripture that the devils knew him, but not that they knew him to be God: they called him the Son of God, and the holy one of God, and they adjured him by God; but I do not find that ever they owned him to be God, as his disciples did; they gave no such confession to him.

Now as the former conclusions which I have made of this whole warfare of the devils are, I confess, chiefly drawn *a posteriori*, from consideration of the effects which it has produced, especially upon us here below, who are taken captive by him at his

will; so in this present instance I am not a little confirmed from the prospect of those many-headed heresies which the Devil has sent into the Christian church, to the disparagement of her greatest fundamental, the incarnation of God. Arius and his bastard Socinus are generals of the greatest name in this war; they deny the divinity of Christ, though upon different and very contradictory pretences. Simon Magus was first in commission among those falsely called Unitarians; after him the Ebionites said that Christ was God, but not from everlasting; the Nestorians, that he became God by merit, but was not the Son of God before the incarnation; the Macedonians, that he was not of one substance with the Father: the Alcoran calls him the Messiah. and the Word of God, but not the Son of God; and they allow not that he was crucified, as the Theopaschites, (not supposing it, forsooth, consistent with the justice and greatness of God,) but that another man suffered in his place; others said that Christ did not really hang upon the cross, but that his passion was only in show, such were the Cerdonites, the Eutychians, and Manichæans; that his whole passion is to be understood allegorically, and not according to the letter, which is maintained by the family of love, who likewise make an allegory of his incarnation; the Manichees, Eutychians, Marcionites, and Saturnians, held that he had neither human body nor soul, but was man in appearance only: the Eunomians, Arians, Apollinarians, and Theopaschites, that he had a body without a human soul. And these ancient and pestilent heresies are still kept alive amongst us; they are gathered together, and improved by the Quakers, who deny the

humanity of Christ, and the divinity of Jesus. They will not allow the incarnation of Christ, that is, that he took the nature of man into his own person, only (as the Socinians speak) that he dwelt in or did inspire the person of that man Jesus, as the prophets of old, and other good men now, though not in so high a degree as he did inspire Jesus. Thence they take the name of Christ to themselves, and say that it belongs to them as well as to Jesus, to every member as well as unto the head. And in this sense they allow Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, not properly, but in a large sense, as we are called the sons of God: they allow that the body of Jesus was that prepared body in which Christ (or the light within, as they call him) did for a time reside, and therefore that it might be called the body of Christ, as a man's house, garment, or veil, is called his who owns or possesses it: but not as a man's body, which is part of himself; for, say they, "aWe " can never call the bodily garment Christ."

They deny that Christ had properly any thing human, either soul or body.

"That the outward person which suffered" upon the cross "was properly the Son of God, we utterly "deny," says their Serious Apology, wrote by Will. Penn, p. 146. They dream that Christ had a spiritual body before the creation, and that he has the same now in heaven, but not that body of Jesus of Nazareth which he took of the blessed Virgin, and which suffered upon the cross.

The Eutychians held that the humanity of Christ

^a Some Principles of the elect People of God, in scorn called *Quakers*, p. 126.

was absorbed or swallowed up in his divinity, so that there remained not now any human nature in Christ. Agreeable to this, the Quakers allow not Christ to have now any thing that is human about him: but to have divested himself of all that when he ascended into heaven, where they say he now is only as he was before the creation.

In short, they make what they call their light within to be not only a ray, influence, or inspiration sent from Christ, but to be the very essential and personal Christ, as well body as spirit, and that he has no other body or spirit but what was within them: for a further account of these men, I refer the reader to a book called, the Snake in the Grass, and to another wrote by the same author, entitled, Satan Disrobed; and so proceed to another less famous sect amongst us, called the Muggletonians.

These, with the Quakers, deny any distinction of persons in the Godhead; and consequently they run into the old heresy of the Patripassians, thence so called, because they held that it was God the Father who was incarnate, and did suffer upon the cross. To this the Quakers agree; and George Fox, (the father and founder of them,) in his Great Mystery, p. 246, disputes against those who said that it was not God the Father who was incarnate.

Lodowick Muggleton (who arose the same year with G. Fox, an. 1650) and his followers say, that the Godhead died upon the cross; and that there was then no God: but that God, before he was incarnate, deputed Elijah to govern in his absence; that Elijah raised him again from the dead, and restored him to his throne: that Christ (who was God the Father) did not know himself to be God, or

any more than Elijah pleased to let him know: that Elijah was the Father to whom he prayed upon the cross. They strike in likewise with the Anthropomorphites, (as John Biddle, the late celebrated Socinian,) and say that God from all eternity had a body, and of the same shape as man's body; and that being made after the image of God, referred to the shape of his body. They pretend to describe his shape, a middle-sized handsome man, and such like most vile and ridiculous stuff.

These batteries the Devil has raised, of several shapes and sizes, against the truth of the incarnation of Christ. This he is not able to digest, or understand aright; and seduces his weak but envied rival man, by such multiplicity of subterfuges as he has invented.

This is the great and fundamental head of that war which the Devil now carries on upon earth.

And there is another which is like unto it, and XI. depends upon it, namely, the doctrine of satisfaction, satisfacwhich the Devil opposes upon the same foot with tion. the incarnation; for they are both so closely linked together, as that the doctrine of satisfaction supposes the incarnation and death of Christ, without which no adequate satisfaction, that is, no satisfaction, could have been made to justice for the sin of man: and, on the other hand, no rational account can be given for the incarnation and sufferings of our Saviour, but to satisfy the justice of God for our sin. For all other considerations of Christ, as a Prophet, a Teacher, a Mediator or Intercessor, might have been executed, either by an angel, or holy man thereunto commissionated by God; and that without any necessity of the death of such a messenger.

But to make adequate satisfaction to the utmost demand of infinite justice for all the sins of the world, to pay this infinite debt, exceeded all created sufficiency, and could be performed by none but God alone.

And the doom of sin being death, without shedding of blood there could be no remission. Which infers the necessity not only of Christ's incarnation, but of his death.

And it was not possible the cup should pass from him, if he would redeem lost mankind. If it had been possible, sure his Father would not have refused what he so passionately, and in so bitter an agony, three times requested. His Father would not causelessly have so exposed his beloved Son, in whom he was well pleased. No, but as Christ Luke xxiv. himself has told us, It thus behoved him to suffer; 26, 46. Matt. xxvi. that he ought to have suffered these things; and

that thus it must be.

When God, in his all-wise providence, had so far permitted the spirit of pride and malice as to seduce mankind into disobedience, the Devil then thought he had in some sort even conquered, at least overreached the Almighty: for thus he argued with himself: If God's justice be exact by which I suffer, then must man be eternally miserable with me; for he is less able than I am to make any satisfaction for his sin. And thus have I ruined my hated and despised rival: and even by the necessity of God's nature, which is justice, I have forced him to damn that base human nature, which he would join into his own person, postponing the more noble angelic nature, which is thus revenged!

And the Devil thought himself secure and im-

pregnable in this his pride and malice: for if the nature of justice (which is God) cannot acquit without full satisfaction; and that the satisfaction for sin must be proportionable to the person against whom the sin is committed, which is infinite; and that the penalty must be death; and that God only is infinite; and that God cannot die: and again, that the same nature which offended must make the satisfaction; and that human nature was far from infinite, and so could make no satisfaction: I say, upon all these accounts, the Devil thought man's cause to be irremediable and desperate, and that in this he had prevailed against God for ever.

But God thus far permitted his enemy, thereby to shew forth more gloriously the riches of his grace, and the inexhaustibility of his wisdom: for by the ever-adorable mystery of God manifest in the flesh, and suffering death for us upon the cross, all the above seemingly insuperable difficulties are dissolved, like ice before the fire: for here is satisfaction made by the same nature which offended; and the satisfaction is full and adequate, because the same Person is God; and though the Godhead cannot die, yet the Person which is God may die; as the soul of man does not die, but the man who has the soul dies.

And in this is the great and absolute victory over all the devils and powers of hell.

Here the Devil finds himself outwitted as well as overpowered; and that love is superior to pride as much in wisdom as in strength.

But his malice never fails him. He sets all his engines on work to prejudice men from receiving this doctrine of satisfaction; and from believing in Christ as their surety, or propitiation; which only is the saving faith.

The Mahometans believe Christ to be a Prophet; the Alcoran calls him the Messiah, and the Word of God, and our Intercessor with God. Yet are they not Christians: which denomination properly belongs to none who do not believe the divinity, incarnation, and satisfaction of Christ for our sins.

Who deny any of these, may flatter themselves with the name of Christians; but they are really (though may be themselves perceive it not) enlisted under the Devil's banner, and fight his battles. And he has gained followers in nothing more than in this; he has persuaded men to dispute against their own salvation; he has put such arguments as these in the mouths of Socinians and Quakers: What need has God of any satisfaction? may he not do what a man can? to forgive a debt? We call it mercy in a man; and can it be injustice in God? But when a man forgives a debt, do we call it mercy or justice in him? you say it is mercy: in man, mercy and justice are mixed in proportions; but in God they are both in their utmost; God is not only a just Being, that is, who has a great deal of justice in him, but he is justice itself, the highest notion possible of justice; and since justice cannot acquit without full satisfaction, no more can he.

How then? Do his attributes fight against one another? No, that is impossible; but as the Vulgar renders Jam. ii. 13, *Misericordia superexaltat judicium*, "Mercy does exalt justice." God's mercy in sending Christ does exalt his justice. Which could not be exact justice, if it did not require full satisfaction. God is all justice: he is all love and

mercy too. They are the same thing in God: they are the same in love; for God is love. Every sin is a debt to love, or an offence against it, which is against God: now a debt of love is not to be reckoned as a debt of money: a man may forgive his money as he pleases, but love cannot forgive an ingratitude but upon repentance: love cannot allow hypocrisy, or envy, or malice, or any thing contrary to itself.

Love is so much the essence, so the all of Christ's religion, that all other gifts and graces are valued only in so far as they administer to the ends and purposes of love.

Without this, the greatest excellencies and performances imaginable are reputed nothing in the sight of God, that is, of love; faith even to remove: Cor. xiii. mountains, and zeal to give all my goods among 3. the poor; and my very body to be burnt, and all prophecy, and all knowledge, all will signify nothing, if they be not done out of a principle of love; if charity be wanting, all these, and all other things possible, all are nothing: love regards them not.

Nothing can charm love but love. All the whole earth in one sacrifice, and all the pains of hell, cannot bribe love into a friendship or reconciliation with pride or ill-nature; it must hate these by the same necessity that it is it's self: behold the justice and severity of love! Behold the reason why our love can never be accepted with God! because it is mixed with what God hates, by the necessity of his nature, with insincerity and affections to vice; we love not God for his own sake, for the native beauty of love, but to serve our own ends, pitiful selfish designs! vain, foolish, wicked!

The heavens are not clean in his sight, and he chargeth his angels with folly; and our righteousness is as filthy rags; and that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination before God. Now what hopes of atoning for our faults, when our best performances are fresh provocations?

And this inexorable justice of love is the greatest mercy too, if we consider it; for there being no happiness but in love, and no atonement to love but by returning to love again, consequently this seeming severity is really but an invitation to our happiness. But all our love is polluted, and therefore hateful to purity, which is God: so that we can never perform this condition, though the most merciful as well as just. And here Satan would stop all our hopes, by persuading us that our debt cannot be paid by another, that the most perfect love will not be accepted for that which is deficient.

And this is so far true, that where the imperfect love does not go as far as it can, it can receive no help from that which is more perfect: for being willing to remain insensible of any offence I have committed against love, is the greatest contempt of love, and love can hear nothing in its defence.

But where I am as sensible as I can, and wish to be more, and do all that is in my power, and repent with my whole heart; though all this be very unproportionable to my offence, and full of imperfections, there love will rejoice to accept the interceding of a perfect love, and its full satisfaction and atonement for the weak but willing love.

And this manner of paying the debts of love is perfectly agreeable to the nature of love: it is agreeable to the common conversation of the world: was it ever made an objection that the surety should pay the debt? or that it was unjust to be a surety? Yet this enemy of mankind would make us think it against reason that Christ should be our surety, or that he should pay our debt.

And this being the main hinge, or indeed the whole of Christianity as to us, many batteries are raised against this, to destroy us all at once; for if we lose this, what good can Christianity do us? we are yet in our sins.

There are several parties, and from several arts. which attack us in this most essential point: some say that Christ came into the world only as an example; but then they are put to it to find a reason for his death: it will not bear an argument that his death was only intended as a confirmation of his doctrine; for that shews it neither to be true nor false, but only that he was fully persuaded of the truth of it; yet this is all that cause can afford. Others say that he came to teach a new condition for the remission of sin, which was repentance. To this it is answered, that that was no new condition: What time soever a sinner repents he shall save his soul: this was in the Old Testament: Rend your hearts, and not your garments; and many other places to the same purpose. Secondly, repentance was the meaning of the sacrifices under the law: The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit. So that repentance was no new condition; nor indeed was any doctrine of Christ new, for he came to fulfil the law.

And if we look into this, it will convince us beyond all we could gather from our own reason: as much as a picture is beyond a description.

Behold therefore in the law the types of Christ; how they were expiatory, and not merely for ex-1 Cor. v. 7. ample: Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us; sacrifices were for expiation, and not for example. The sin of the party was laid upon the sacrifice, and it was said to die for his sin: which was confessed Lev. xvi. 21, 22. over the scape-goat, and put upon his head, and he was to bear it away to a land not inhabited. This was to shew that death was the wages of sin, and that Christ was to bear it for us, and escape with it, and carry it from us: The life of the flesh is in zvii. 11. the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar, says the Old Testament, to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul. And this is the reason Heb. ix. 22, that almost all things are by the law purged with 23. blood; and without shedding of blood is no remission. It was therefore necessary, says the apostle; and so goes on to infer the necessity of Christ's shedding his blood according to his types, which he did to the least iota, even to his suffering without the

viii. 12.

5.

Eph. i. 7.

gate. This sets before us, as in a picture, the whole economy of Christ's sufferings; and from the first sentence of death pronounced against sin: In the day thou eatest thou shalt surely die. We see this fulfilled in the legal sacrifices slain for the sin of man, which typified the shedding of that blood which could indeed take away sin, which it was not possible for the blood of bulls and goats to do; Heb. x. 4, and therefore says Christ, a body hast thou prepared me: and lo I come. He was the true sacri-

through the blood of his cross: in whom we have

Col. i. 20. fice and expiation for our sin, having made peace

redemption through his blood. To call all this only his being an example to us, is so wide both from reason and the matter of fact, that it shews the very impotence of our enemy: "It was by the blood of "the Lamb they overcome him," says the Epistle for this day. This expiation of Christ takes away our sin, pays all our debt, and leaves nothing to the spirit of pride but to feed on his own envy and malice and mad despair.

God has so guarded this last stake and great rock of our salvation, as to render it impregnable, but by our supine negligence. He who can turn all that scripture speaks of the expiation and atonement and ransom of sin, to a mere example, he must go against his own conviction, if ever we can determine it in any case: nay, I dare appeal to any such, whether, if he were dying, he would take greater comfort in considering Christ as his surety, who had paid his debt, as his sacrifice and expiation, who could plead to the justice of God full satisfaction for all his sins; whether his heart would not lean more to Christ thus as a Saviour, than to look upon him merely as an example, which he has not followed?

Some would go further, and let Christ be an Intercessor only, and as such a Redeemer, i. e. who redeems us by his interceding with God for us: that God appointed him for this work, but that it is against reason to talk of his answering to God's justice, for that God needed nobody to pay a debt to him: he might forgive without all that, if he pleased.

This has been answered already: but I would fain ask one question, Whether God needs an Intercessor more than a Redeemer to save mankind? How can people pretend reason for the one, and yet cry down the other as against all reason? and again, to give divine worship to this Intercessor. and at the same time to deny his divinity? as the Arians did, and the Polonian Socinians do at this day, which is reckoned no less than rank idolatry by the new-fashioned Socinians which are got up amongst us, who deny divine honour to be due to Christ; and yet, when these Socinians are pleading for antiquity, they derive themselves from the Arians; though the Arians allow Christ to have a being with God the Father before the creation of the world: and the Socinians say that he never was at all before he was born of the Virgin: which is so wide a difference, besides that of divine worship above told, that nothing could make them of the same party but fighting under the same general; and then their cause will gain great antiquity; it came from the Præ-Adamites, the mighty hosts of heaven who fell in this quarrel, and manage it with greater success now on earth.

1. Others by their instigation argue in this form against the doctrine of the satisfaction, that if Christ pay the debt, and undergo the curse which was due to man for sin, he ought to suffer the same curse that was laid upon man, which was eternal death, else he does not pay the whole debt, or suffer that which man was to have suffered.

Ans. Man suffers eternally, can never come out of prison, because he can never pay the uttermost farthing, which justice does require.

Therefore Christ's sufferings were not eternal, because they were sufficient, for the dignity of the person, to make full satisfaction.

And not only because of the dignity of the person, who was God, but from the nature of the thing: for sin being an offence against love or goodness, the nature of love does require that the person offending should have a sense of his fault: for while the offender remains obstinate, insensible, and persists in his ingratitude, even love cannot forgive: I say cannot, because though love were willing, (love is always willing,) yet the insensible offender is not capable; because the forgiveness of love is restoration, to restore those to the happiness and enjoyment of love who have fallen from it: and all happiness being centred in love, (as before has been said,) for God is love, consequently till we return to love we cannot return to our happiness: and an ungrateful man, and insensible of his ingratitude to his greatest benefactor, who still courts and invites him to return, is utterly uncapable, while he persists in his ingratitude, to know or enjoy the blessings of love, and consequently of the forgiveness of love; which by its own nature must necessarily hate all baseness, envy, malice, and whatever is contrary to its own nature.

Now as the nature of love does require that an offender should be sensible of his fault, so likewise that he should be sensible proportionable to his offence; for to be but a little sensible of a great offence is a fresh provocation.

And it being impossible that the capacity of all creatures should ever reach to the full sense of an offence against infinite love and goodness, consequently their sufferings can never attain unto it; which makes their hell to be eternal.

Besides that in hell they repent not to give glory Rev. xvi. 9.

to God, but blaspheme the name of God, who hath power over their plagues.

But, on the other hand, Christ being God, had a full and adequate sense of the offence against infinite love; which is all the satisfaction that love does require; and, by the necessity of its own nature, cannot be satisfied with any thing less.

Therefore Christ's sufferings were not eternal. because he made full satisfaction: and if they were to have been eternal, then he could never have made satisfaction; for therefore only are men's sufferings eternal, because they can never make satisfaction.

2. There is yet another objection which, by the artifice of the enemy of mankind, some men do struggle with against the satisfaction of Christ, which is, that though in duration the sufferings of Christ do not last so long as those of the damned, vet that as to the greatness and intenseness of them, they should be at least equal, if not superior, to those of the damned: because if those of the damned are not great enough to make satisfaction, consequently his who does make the satisfaction ought to be greater.

And despair being the saddest ingredient in hell, if Christ had it not, he did not suffer so great pain as they do: and if he had despair, then he distrusted the power or mercy of God, and consequently had sin, and so could not be our Redeemer.

In answer to this, let us consider, first, what has been said above, that sin is an offence against love and goodness: that the satisfaction which love requires is a sense of the offence, such a sense as is fully proportionable to the offence. Then, secondly, let us reflect that all sense of an offence against love

and goodness must carry with it a sorrow and agony proportionable to the offence; without which it cannot be said that any man is truly sensible of his offence.

This agony was borne by Christ to the full, when he bore the sins of the whole world, charged himself with them, and stood answerable for them before his Father: and this was far greater than any bodily pains which he endured; and infinitely exceeded what it was possible for all created minds to have sustained, or so much as to comprehend to all eternity.

Yet was there no mixture of despair in all this: for despair does not proceed from the sense of our having offended God, (which sense is strongest in the most sincere penitents,) but from a defect of our apprehensions of God, and mistaking of his nature, which is all love and goodness; which those who despair cannot believe. Hence we find that many lesser sinners do despair when greater do repent. Why? Not because they have a stronger sense of their sin, (for the other may, and often have, much greater than they,) but because they have a weaker and fainter sense of the goodness of God, which is thinking amiss of the nature of God, as the apostate angels did, measuring it by greatness and power, not by love; and is the reason that they despair and cannot repent, or hope for mercy from that power which they have offended, and think inexorable. We may read our punishment as well as our sin in their offence. And they who sin as they do, will be punished as they are, and have their share in that lake prepared for the Devil and his angels.

But though Christ did not despair, because he had the true, full, and adequate knowledge of God, and of his nature, yet for an example and comfort to our infirmity, which he took upon him, he suffered himself to fall under the greatest despondency that could be distinguished from sin, in his last agony and dereliction upon the cross, when he cried out, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? Thereby supporting the weakness and faintings of our faith, that we should not despair when we find ourselves unequal to our pressures, and seem deserted by God and man! For even in that case, in the worst that can befall us, we have his great example to set before us, who complained as we do, yet committed his soul to God in the height of his displeasure, with strong cryings and tears, and was heard in that he feared, Heb. v. 7. Therefore let no man's fears cause him to despond; For we have not an High Priest who cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin. Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need, Heb. iv. 15, 16.

Let this suffice as to the difficulty whether Christ had despair or not, (which has perplexed some learned men;) for though despair was wholly incompatible to him, who had a true knowledge of the nature of God; yet, for that same reason, he had a sense of sin and of its demerit, infinitely exceeding all those in despair can have; which answers all those objections that can be raised upon this head against the doctrine of the satisfaction of Christ.

3. But then the Devil starts another objection,

that if Christ took upon him our sins, then he became the sinner, and we were discharged, and need heed no more what we do, for that all is paid, all satisfied for, &c.; we may sin on, and no harm can come to us; that if Christ took upon him our sin, he must take the filth and pollution of it, as well as the curse, else that he did not take it all: and if so, he was a sinner indeed! exceeding all the sinners in the world, because he took upon him the sins of all the world, and made satisfaction for them all.

With this bait the Devil has caught the Antinomians now amongst us, who say, that they are not sinners, for that Christ was the sinner: that Christ took upon him the guilt, the pollution, the loathsomeness, and filth of our sin, as well as the curse of it, and was therefore hated of God, and separated from him, till after his resurrection, that he had purged it off; and particularly when he cried upon the cross, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? that he was then odious to God as a toad: and other such blasphemies, which are horrid to repeat.

The foundation of this monster of a heresy, to make our blessed Lord the greatest of sinners, is easily discoverable to any judicious eye; for to pay a debt for another out of mere love and charity to prevent his ruin, was never yet thought to infer that the surety who paid the debt did thereby make himself guilty of any ill arts which the principal might have used either in procuring or spending of the money: but very slender hooks will serve to catch the small fry.

And the Devil has not used greater pains and skill in oppugning any article of our faith than in this of the main end of the incarnation, sufferings, and death of Christ, as a sacrifice to make satisfaction for the sins of the world.

Against this, Satan has spent his utmost force, as being the greatest overthrow of his kingdom among men.

And this doctrine is so closely linked with that of the Trinity and Incarnation, they do so mutually suppose and depend upon each other, that those who deny any one of them are seldom sound in the other two; and the surest means to corrupt men in the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, is to prejudice them against the doctrine of satisfaction, which is the result of the other two, and cannot be without supposing of them both.

4. These are the doctrines which the Quakers call the sandy foundation, and dispute against them with the Socinian artillery.

There is another squadron lately enlisted in this cause, led by the famous Mademoiselle Antonio Bourignon, who has been seduced herself, and has seduced many others with the semblance of her own flights and devotion; which shew from whose inspiration they came, by that insuperable pride which runs through all that she and her disciples have wrote of her; advancing her above all the prophets and apostles, above all born of women, not excepting our Lord Jesus himself. I refer the reader for a full account of her and her doctrine to Bourignonism Detected, by Dr. Cockburn, printed in the year 1698. But as to the particular subject we are now upon, she flatly denies and disputes against the doctrine of satisfaction, as shewn in the preface to the Snake in the Grass, vol. iv. p. 9. She says,

p. 139, 140, 142, of her book there quoted, called, The Light of the World, that there was no need of God's becoming man in order to our redemption; that he took flesh, not to suffer or die, but only to converse with us; that his sufferings and death happened by accident, that is, beyond his intention. And her arguments are the same which we have heard before from Lucifer; that it was beneath the greatness and majesty of God; and that his glory could not be advanced by being "crucified betwixt "two thieves," as she words it.

Here I must tell the reader, that the arguments which I put in the mouth of Lucifer were not borrowed from this of Bourignon, (with which they so exactly agree,) but were wrote many years before I saw any of her books, or had so much as heard of her name.

But when I read them in her, it was a great confirmation to me of the truth of my reasoning, when I found the same arguments made use of by one whom the Devil had deluded, and possessed to as high, and perhaps a greater degree of enthusiastical madness, blasphemous pride, and wild heretical notions, than any age can produce since Simon Magus, who boasted himself to be the mighty power of God; and in many things she exceeded him.

I have mentioned her, because her infection has spread strangely in Holland (that soil fertile of religions) and the adjacent countries, has lately taken root in Scotland, and at last has come to London, where her book before mentioned was printed, 1696, and too much recommended; and has travelled into several parts of the country; insomuch that the Bourignonists deserve now their class in the first

form of the heretics. They have gained some learned men, who have drawn their pens in their cause, both here and abroad; some translating the books of Mrs. Bourignon, and others writing in defence of her and them: but if seasonably and diligently attacked, it is to be hoped that they may not make great inroads upon Christianity, at least in our parts; otherwise they will, in all appearance, become formidable, and, like the Quakers or the Saxons, grow upon us, till we must be forced to let them live with us, and compound at last for an act of toleration.

5. This is the war which the Devil manages here below, the same which he fought in heaven. I have shewn you some of his armies, they are discoverable by their colours; the field is always pride, whatever other device is wrought upon it. And this misleads them into all error; first, a wrong notion of God; which leads them into a wrong notion of Christ, his nature and office; and that is productive of all the hydra heresies we have mentioned, and of many more, which it would be tedious to examine in so short an Essay: but those I have named are the chief, and mother of all the rest; and pride the grandmother of all.

The first tentation of the Devil to man was, that they should be as gods: and he has persuaded some since that they really are gods, even equal to God, in equality itself, as pure and holy as he is, as harmless and innocent as Christ; but preferable to all mortals, meeker than Moses, stronger than Samson, wiser than Solomon^a, &c. Nay, they go further, and make their soul a part of God, of the same

a Snake in the Grass, sect. 11, 111, and 1v. vol. iv.

substance, person, and essence with God; and therefore to be infinite in itself, and without beginning as well as ending. This is copying after Lucifer, and even outdoing of him, in his blasphemous pride! The Pharisees advanced themselves beyond all other men as to piety and holiness, but not to be quite free from sin, as the Quakers and Bourignon do pretend.

The Gnostics gave themselves that gaudy name, from their supposed knowledge exceeding that of other Christians.

And all the way down from them to Bourignon and the Quakers, all the heresiarchs set up upon pride and high value for themselves, with as great contempt of other men.

Our Pharisees got the name of *Puritans*, from the high purity to which they pretended.

And all our sects have arisen from those who called themselves gifted men, and boasted in their wonderful attainments, sufficient (as they gave out) to supersede all established constitutions, though at first instituted by God himself. Hence that spirit of pride which did inspire them gave some of them to be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some teachers and preachers, without any outward commission; disdaining the humility of succession, continued by vicarious ordination from Christ and his apostles, upon which the church has been built and preserved to this day.

And what vile contempt and despite they all have poured out against the church and their superiors has filled the world.

To curb and subdue this spirit of pride was the end of Christ's coming in the flesh, who fought against him with the arms of humility and love; which is the inseparable badge of Christ and his disciples, by which they are known, and outshine all the false glories and pomp of hypocritical pride and ostentation.

I have endeavoured to trace this pride from its first rise in heaven, and shewn its progress upon earth: and that it is the mother and nurse of all the heresies in the church; and as it was the first sin, so is it a principal ingredient in all our sins. The Jews had a saying, that there was a grain of the golden calf in all their after-judgments; and we may truly say, that there is a spice of the first sin, that is, pride, in all our sins and delusions; and if we search impartially we shall find it. This corrupts both our practice and our principles, and hinders us as much to work as to believe aright.

The Devil is equally concerned against both. And let me here instance in two particulars, which have raised great contest in the world.

XII.

The first is the dispute about grace. The Devil, The dispute concerning knowing our weakness, and that we are not able of ourselves to help ourselves, has endeavoured to disarm us of the assistance of God's grace (without which we are not able so much as to think a good thought) by this suggestion of pride, that we have strength enough of our own to perform all that is required of us, and therefore need ask no assistance of extraordinary grace; that there is no other grace given to man, but that reason with which God endows each man, and therefore which is natural to him; that nothing supernatural is to be expected in this world; that it is a tempting of God, to ask for or expect any such thing; that it hinders our own endeavours, while we look for supernatural assistance: and other such like arguments as these.

Pelagius, our countryman, was a great general upon this head of the war; and he has not a few or inconsiderable part of this nation and elsewhere of his followers. The libertines every where are enlisted under his banner; and they think themselves no mean men: they command wit and raillery, and mighty numbers. They call it a reflection upon God, to say that he has not made man perfect, and with sufficient powers to perform what God has required of him.

But they forget that man is fallen from that state in which God at first did create him; and therefore, as a man who has lamed himself, he needs more help than his own legs.

But, besides this, suppose man in his utmost perfection; is it any reflection upon the power, goodness, or wisdom of God, to make him still dependent upon God, and to need the assistance of his grace? as the earth does the influence of the sun, and yet the earth is perfect in its kind.

Man, in his fallen estate, has powers still left him, to beg and sue to God for his assistance, and to attend those means of grace which he has commanded, the prayers and sacraments of his church; which whosoever does sincerely and diligently, God has given them his promise to bestow his grace upon them, sufficient for their need.

And they who will not be at this pains, but trust to the plea of the unprofitable servant, that they serve a severe master, who reaps where he did not sow, and exacts more than he gave them abilities to perform, will, with him who hid his talent, be condemned out of their own mouths; because that consideration, if it were true, should make them double their diligence, and not neglect those means which their Lord has appointed.

They are loath to share with him the glory of their salvation; they would do all themselves. But he will not share with them, he will have all the whole glory of it, for to him only it does appertain. And they whose pride will not suffer them to submit absolutely and without reserve to him, must have their portion with those who rebel against him.

XIII. Of faith

The other snare of the Devil which I mentioned or rath and works, is the dispute about faith and works, which has made a great bustle in the world; and this is near of kin to the last; for some are persuaded to lean wholly upon their own works, and to esteem of faith only as an empty notion, and mere imagination, of no virtue or efficacy at all: that there is no trust in any other, though in Christ himself: that we shall be reckoned with only according to the works that we have done, and not according to what we believe another has done for us, which can no ways be imputed unto us.

Others again are tempted wholly to neglect works, and lean all upon faith. They think the doctrine of works to be great arrogance and pride, in assuming to ourselves the merit of our salvation, which is due only to God. That because he ought to have the whole glory, therefore we ought not to intermix any of our works at all, but to live only by faith in him. That our righteousness is filthy rags, and therefore cannot be accepted by him, nor are worthy to be accepted; and therefore can add or help nothing, no, not in the least tittle, to our salvation: but, on the contrary, that we ought to renounce them, and divest ourselves wholly of them, and trust to God's mercy without them; which, they suppose, has no consideration at all of them, but justifies the elect without any respect to them; and therefore loves the saints in all their sins: that they are not the less beloved while wallowing in their sins, because God's love is free, and without regard to our performances: that therefore there ought to be no sorrow for sin; that this is contrary to a true godly frame. This the Antinomians (who are set up on high now in London) have preached, and printed in their books, particularly the famous Dr. Crisp. Nay, they go further; they make neither faith nor works necessary; for that, they say, would hinder the freedom of God's love, and make it conditional. (which they abhor to think,) and to depend upon any thing that is in us to do. They call faith therefore only an echo of the soul answering to the call of God, and saying, I come, without any change in the man; but that the soul which has not that echo is not the less safe: for they resolve all into the absolute decree of God, without respect either to faith or works on our part. This is the plea of Lucifer for himself, that he was overruled in heaven by absolute power, without respect to justice; for that he had merit beyond many of those angels who stood, though he and others, better than they, fell. And the same argument is taken up by many of his followers at this day, who have bewildered their understandings in the intricate mazes of absolute decrees, unconditional election and reprobation; so as to confound themselves, and stop their endeavours from working out their own salvation, as they are commanded. The Antinomians say, that Christ has wrought all for us, so that we need not work; and that to offer to add our works to his is presumption, and an undervaluing of his, as if his were not sufficient. They say, that he bore not only the pollution and filth of sin, (as before has been mentioned,) but the sadness and sorrow for it too, all that was due to it; and that therefore whoever has any sadness or sorrow for sin is out of Christ, and in a false way.

See the many snares of the Devil, to keep men from repentance, and harden them in their sins.

Here he gilds his poison with a seeming trust in God, as when he tempted Christ to throw himself down from the pinnacle, that he might thereby tempt God.

And this is the very case here; for to neglect those works which Christ has commanded, out of a seeming faith in him, and deference towards him, as if we would not presume to mix our works with his; all this is a downright tempting of him, to excuse ourselves from what he has commanded, on pretence of trusting to what he has promised or decreed secretly from eternity; as if these could interfere, and his decrees dissolve his commands.

But, say these men, it is he who worketh all the good that is in us; therefore what need we work?

I answer; therefore we ought to work: therefore he works in us, that we should work, that is, work with him. This is the very argument of the apostle, Phil. ii. 12, 13; Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling. For it is God who worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.

All the good in us God worketh it; therefore all the glory is to him, and none to us at all.

But when we work with God, our works are full of imperfections, which come from ourselves, therefore we trust not in them. Here then is our faith, viz. in the perfect work and obedience of Christ to the whole law, which all of us have many ways broken; and his undergoing the curse of the law, which was due to our breaches of the law. And this being applied to us by a true lively faith, which worketh by love, and a sincere repentance and sense of our sin, though not equal to the demerit, yet to our weak abilities; and for what is defective, when we have done as much as we can do, and are sorry that we can do no more, it is supplied, and we accepted, in the perfect obedience of Christ, and his sufferings of infinite value, for that wherein we have been deficient, when we fully trust in and believe the promises of God, that we shall have remission through Christ. This is our faith, by which we apply the merit of the sufferings of Christ to ourselves.

1. And then is his righteousness imputed unto us, as our sins were to him: not that he was a sinner, (as the Antinomians say,) though he bore our sins; or that his righteousness, which is infinite, can be inherent in us, so as to make us as righteous as he is, (as the Quakers and some others speak;) but that he has given us a right to plead his righteousness and sufferings on our behalf, as performed for us in our nature and in our stead.

This wholesome and necessary doctrine of imputation has been greatly strained, and turned into a cant, by many of our dissenters, since 1640, who

would thereby have the whole righteousness of Christ, not only applied, but transferred, to us; to become our righteousness, and inherent in us; so as to supersede all our own righteousness, or any endeavours on our side, not only from having any merit, (which is most true,) but from being any way necessary or beneficial towards our salvation.

This has given occasion to others, in odium to this vile extravagance, quite to throw off the doctrine, and ridicule the very name of imputation, which is as dangerous an error on the other side; for it is, when rightly understood, a necessary consequence of the doctrine of satisfaction, and the means whereby the satisfaction which Christ made for our sins is applied and made profitable to us; without which it could be of no advantage to us; for if it were not imputed to us, how would it concern us? what benefit could we reap from it? No benefit at all, say the Socinians and Quakers, more than as an example, like the sufferings of other good men, which are not imputed to any others. Solomon Eccles, a great prophet of the Quakers, says, in his Letter to one Rob. Porter, that the blood of Christ, which was shed upon the cross, was "bno more than the blood of another saint;" and adds, "God will overthrow your faith, and "vour imputative righteousness too." "Such as "have Christ in them," (says George Fox, in his Great Mystery, p. 183,) "they have the righteous-" ness itself, without imputation." For they suppose their light within to be not only an illumination or influence, sent into their hearts by Christ, but to be the very Christ itself, and that there is

b Snake in the Grass, sect. x. vol. iv. p. 142.

none other: and consequently that they have the whole righteousness of Christ inherent in them; and that it thus becomes their own righteousness without imputation.

William Penn, in his Serious Apology, p. 148, speaking of our justification by the righteousness which Christ has fulfilled in his own person for us, says, "And, indeed, this we deny, and boldly affirm " it, in the name of the Lord, to be the doctrine of " devils, and an arm of the sea of corruption, which "does now deluge the whole world." It is dreadfully astonishing to see the heart and foundation of the whole Christian religion thus called the doctrine of devils, and that boldly, "in the name of the " Lord!" These men throw off the righteousness of Christ, that they may establish their own righteousness, which they call Christ's. They may be named Suifidians, for making the righteousness of Christ their own, without imputation; they trust wholly in themselves, and reject the imputation of the righteousness of any other.

And this they call their deep knowledge in the mysteries of God; and by this expect to be saved: as Simon Magus, (the father of the Gnostics, Quakers, Solifidians, and Antinomians,) who taught that men might be saved by their knowledge, however vicious their lives were; or, which is the same, that nothing they do is vicious, as being the immediate dictates of the Holy Ghost, or light within them.

Here we may see the dangerous error of both the extremes before mentioned; of those who make a jest of faith, and place all in their opus operatum, in their own performance; and, on the other hand,

of those Solifidians, who throw off all works on pretence to magnify faith.

These are the fiery darts of the Devil, by which he endeavours to ruin the souls of men, undermining the foundation of our Christian faith with his false and pernicious glosses; that where he cannot beat men from the belief of the incarnation and satisfaction of Christ, he may by these means render them useless to us.

He separates faith and works, and sets them up in opposition to each other; and whatever side prevails, he is sure of both: because faith and works are not to be separated; and whoever separates them has erred from the faith.

Our blessed Saviour makes them both one: for being asked, What shall we do that we might work the works of God? Jesus answered and said unto them, This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent, John vi. 29. For there are works of our minds, and they are the chief works, and faith is one of these works. We must not confine the notion of works to the operations only of our hands or our feet: and if faith be a work, (as our Saviour savs it is,) where then is the war that has been set up betwixt faith and works?

I will end all I have said of grace in the last section, and of faith and works in this, with the words of St. Paul, Eph. ii. 8; By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast: that is, not of our own works, which faith is not; for it is the gift of God; and therefore we have no pretence to boast in it. And if his gift, and his only, how careful ought we to be in attending

those means of grace, the prayers and sacraments in the church, which he has commanded, and to the due performance of which he has annexed his infallible promise of giving us that faith, which we cannot otherwise obtain of ourselves! And we have no promise or grounds of expectance to receive it any otherwise; and without it we shall never see God, Heb. xi. 6.

2. But all this is lost to some men, who think all means useless, because, as they suppose, there is an irreversible decree already gone forth upon every man, of happiness or misery, which no means that can be used will ever alter; that this decree has been from eternity, though secret to us; and therefore that all our labour, all our means, are perfectly in vain; that there is nothing to be done, but to fold our arms, and expect the issue of God's secret decree, which is already past, and therefore that it is no matter whether we obey the commands of God or not; that they were given us to no end, as to our salvation, which does not depend upon them, but only upon the supposed decree. Thus has the archenemy blinded their eyes, and tied up their hands from working towards their own salvation; and thrown them upon a fresh provocation of searching into God's secret councils, which he has forbidden: The secret things belong unto the Lord our God: but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law, Deut. xxix. 29.

What is revealed only is the rule of our duty; why then do we search into those decrees which we call *secret*? If God will have them secret, why will not we let them be secret?

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1 Sam. vi.

He smote fifty thousand and seventy of the Bethshemites with a great slaughter, because they looked into his ark: Who then is able to stand before this holy Lord God? and who dare pry into what he has reserved as a secret from us?

But this we may be sure of, that his commands or his promises cannot contradict his decrees how secret soever; and therefore we ought diligently to obey his commands, and cheerfully to trust in his promises, without confounding ourselves about supposed decrees, of which we know nothing at all, nor ought to inquire.

I have read a story of a pious man, who was much troubled about his election or reprobation, prayed earnestly that God would let him know whether he were predestinated to salvation; and that a voice answered him, "What if you did know?" To which he replied, that if he were sure to be saved in the end, how cheerfully could he despise all the allurements of flesh and blood, and with joy follow all the commands of Christ, even to the death! "Would you do all this," said the voice, "if you "were sure to be saved?" Which he having faithfully promised, the voice answered once more, "Then "do so, and you shall be sure to be saved."

Whether the story be true or not, it is no matter; the moral of it does determine this question: this is the only way to make our calling and election sure: let us work and not dispute; not perplex ourselves about hidden decrees, but see to follow that which is plainly commanded, and then we may safely trust to what is promised, and commit our souls to God in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator. Let us look upon every thing which weakens our hands in

this to be (as it truly is) the suggestion of the Devil; and let us shake off that lethargy of glaring upon decrees which we understand not, till it transforms us into stone, that we have neither courage nor power to move hand or foot towards heaven, but stand dozing upon that earth which we find sinking, and, helpless, let it sink, and ourselves with it, even into hell, crying out, "What, can we help it? for " we are decreed;" yet never offer to move one foot from off it! This is enchantment indeed, and a wonderful degree of it: it is like a man's head turning round upon a precipice, which makes him run to meet his death. It is said, that a squirrel having once fastened its eye upon that of a rattlesnake has no power to look off him, but dancing from bough to bough, with a fearful crying, leaps down at last upon the ground, and darts itself into his mouth. This is too like the condition of these men, whom nothing will detain, whom no argument can persuade from their own ruin; the old serpent has caught them with the enchantment of his eye, and they are dancing themselves into his mouth. The eternal and secret decrees of God are a precipice enough to turn the head of an angel; they veil their faces, and dare not pry into that infinite abyss! yet poor man will not be content, unless he can fathom it, and will leap into that gulf, though he is sure it must swallow him. Is there any thing in God which we must not, cannot know? Yes, sure; for nothing but infinite can comprehend infinite. And what is that which is hidden and inaccessible in God, if not his eternal and secret decrees? And what can follow our pressing in upon these but confusion and destruction to ourselves? especially when God has commanded that we should not press upon these, threatened us severely if we do, and has, for an example to us, poured out his vengeance in a dreadful manner upon the heads of those who would not be restrained from this unwarrantable and presumptuous curiosity of prying into his secrets.

3. But, after all, what is the ground of these supposed hidden decrees of God, with which these men have so unmeasurably perplexed themselves?

They are all founded upon the very weak reasonings of shortsighted men concerning the foreknowledge of God; which being certain and infallible, consequently they argue, that whatever he foresaw from eternity must necessarily come to pass; that therefore it cannot be left to the liberty of our will to act otherwise than exactly according to what God has foreseen, else that it would be in our power to defeat God's foreknowledge, and render it fallible. Hence they throw off all freewill, and make it inconsistent with the foreknowledge of God. And then again, from the certainty of God's foreknowledge, they infer, that this is tantamount to a decree, or that God has from eternity decreed all those events which he foresaw.

They say that God is the same from and to eternity; that all things, past, present, and to come, are present with God, who beholds all things with one intuitive act, without succession of time, which measures our actions here below; and therefore that all God's decrees are from eternity: and since he has decreed the reprobation of the wicked, and the election of the just, it must follow, that he has decreed it from eternity. And thence they infer, that such decrees being already past, they are irreversible, and

cannot be altered by any thing that we can do; and therefore that it signifies nothing what we do, whether good or bad, for that our sentence is already pronounced, though we know it not.

That God having decreed to love the elect, he loves them, though in their grossest sins; and hates the reprobate, because he has so decreed, though in the most virtuous actions: that he loves them never the more for their good actions; nor is any whit the more displeased with the elect for their sins.

Now in answer to these fatal and diabolical suggestions, I would recall these men a little to consider of their own way of reasoning: for if there be no succession of time in God; that eternity is but one enduring instant; that therefore past, present, and to come, are all one with God; that all things are present to him; then it must follow that foreknowledge and predestination are words only fitted to our capacities, who cannot apprehend duration without succession of time, which measures all duration to us. And there being no past or future in God, consequently, though he knows all things, yet he foreknows nothing; and though he has decreed, yet not predecreed, and there is no such thing as predestination in God, that is, not properly, and in the strictness of the thing, though the word is used in holy scripture, as many others are, only to comply with our weakness, who could understand nothing of God from words spoke of him strictly and properly according to his incomprehensible nature. There are no such words among men, or intelligible to men; and therefore we must not argue strictly and philosophically from such words, more than from God's coming down to see whether men's sins

were according to the cry of them which had gone up to him, and the like.

Now there is no difficulty in God's knowledge or decrees, to say that he knows our sins, and decrees punishment to them, and happiness to those that are good; for this is just, and what every one does allow: but all the objection is in the particle *fore* or *pre*, *fore-knowledge* or *pre-destination*, which being considered as before our actions, are supposed to lay a force upon them, and take away the freedom of our will.

But there being no such thing as fore or after in God, consequently our whole reasoning upon them is out of doors; and all the dreadful consequences before mentioned are only chimeras of our own, proceeding all upon a wrong notion of God, while we endeavour to measure him by our own skantling, and argue from properties which we must confess that we only suppose to be in him, but know at the same time that they do not belong to him.

If it be said, that we cannot argue otherwise of these hidden things of God, which are not revealed to us:

I grant it. But then the right consequence is, that we should let them alone; at least, since we cannot argue truly and properly of them, that we should not draw consequences as certain from premises which are altogether uncertain: and where we confess that we cannot argue right, the best way is not to argue at all; especially where we are forbidden, and the effects of it are of such terrible consequence.

If any think that I have criticised too nicely upon foreknowledge and predestination, let them consider

that I have only repeated what the predestinarians do urge on their side; they build upon that nicety, and thence infer God's eternal decrees: and I have shewn that from the same nicety all their superstructure falls to the ground, having, by their own confession, but an imaginary foundation.

Come then, let us speak a little more plainly. Some cannot reconcile the certainty of God's knowledge with the freedom of our will; for, say they, his knowledge is determinate, else were it not certain: and if he knows that I will determine my choice to such an action, then can I not choose any otherwise; which takes away the freedom of my choice.

I answer, that if God sees that I will determine my choice so or so, and determine it freely, then I must determine it freely, and not necessarily, because he sees that I will do it freely, and not necessarily.

And his knowing what I do, does no more put any necessity upon me, than my seeing a man walk (supposing the utmost certainty of my senses) puts him under a necessity of walking. It is true, that if I see him walk, and my eyes do not deceive me, the consequence is certain that he does walk; but none does infer from hence, that my seeing takes away the freedom of his will, or puts him under any necessity of walking.

God sees every thing act according to the nature which he has given to it. Thus he sees the sun move, and a man walk; but he sees the one move necessarily, and not by choice, and the other walk by his own choice: and the knowledge of God is equally certain in both cases; therefore there is no

necessity arises from the certainty of his know-ledge.

And now I would desire these men to consider the consequences of their hypothesis.

They would put it out of the power of God to make a creature with freewill; which would be to destroy the most glorious part of the creation, and the most signal and wonderful instances of the power and wisdom of God in governing the wills of men, even in their full freedom: without this, God could have no reasonable service paid to him. There could be no rewards or punishments, because no choice, more than in a stone falling down; no virtue, no sin, no wisdom or folly amongst men. Then all the promises of God, his threatenings and exhortations, even the coming of Christ in the flesh, his death and passion, were all to no purpose, were mere banters upon mankind, if man have no choice, no freewill to go to the right hand or to the left: Have I any

Pleasure at all that the wicked should die? saith the Lord God: and not that he should return from ver. 31. his ways, and live? And, Why will ye die, O house of Israel? Why? Because (they might say upon this scheme) you have decreed us to die; and we have no choice, no power to do any otherwise than

we do. It is

It is as if I should bind a man hand and foot, lock him into a house, then set fire to it, and ask him, "Why will you stay there and be burnt? As "I live I have no pleasure in your death," &c. This would be a mocking and insulting upon his misery.

This would be making God the author of all the sin in the world; for where there is no choice there can be no sin: therefore those creatures who have no choice are incapable of sin, as trees, stones, beasts. &c.

And as there could be no sin against God, so could there be no offence against man. No man ought to be punished for murder, theft, robbery, &c. if he be carried to it by a fatal necessity, which he cannot resist. Therefore men distracted, or in fevers, are not liable to law, because they are not supposed capable of the use of their reason, whereby they may govern their choice in their actions.

I may add, that there is nothing more self-evident, no not the perception of our outward senses, than freewill in man: who does not perceive that it is in his power to do this or that? And all the repentance and regret in man for his follies arises from this consideration, that he might have done otherwise. Without this, there could be no such thing as repentance, no nor of counsel and advice, or indeed of any thinking at all; without this, man could not be a reasonable creature; for where there is no choice, there can be no reason, at least no use of our reason.

It is liberty and freewill which confounds all those atheists, who would reduce every thing, even God himself, to mere matter: for let matter be refined as far as imagination can stretch it, it can never come from under the laws of necessity; all its motions are prescribed, and must proceed exactly according to its mechanism, and cannot vary in the least tittle. But the freedom of will to act this way, or the contrary, exceeds all rules of mechanism, and is an image of God, which cannot be impressed upon matter. And when the Devil or man (by his instigation) would shroud their sin under this seem-

his power.

ing necessity, it is to throw it upon God: but their own consciences fly in their faces, and tell them that they might have helped it, and therefore that their sin lies at their own door.

XIV. How far any or all of the errors and heresies beThe various fore mentioned, or what others of the like nature
this warup did prevail in the ancient ages of the world, of
one carther
fore Christ
which we have little account, and before the flood,
came.

we cannot now determine: but this we may be assured of, that there were gross errors and heresies
amongst them; and that these, as well as those of
which we have the account, were instigated and
promoted by the arch-enemy, who first tempted
man to sin after his own example, and has, and will
to the end of the world seduce mankind, as far as in

And God has permitted him great power and great success, which will all turn, no doubt, to the greater glory of God in the end, and to the increase of endless happiness to those who are subjected to great trials and tentations, and shall continue faithful unto the end.

God has had his city from the beginning, and the Devil his camp, laying siege to it, and often wasting and almost destroying it; whereby God shewed his almighty power and love to his church in his miraculous defence of it amidst so many and great dangers.

Of which this attempt is designed, by way of a history, deduced from the beginning of that first revolt in heaven, and the various successes of the same war carried on upon the earth ever since the fatal seduction of our first parents in paradise.

And the low ebb to which the church was often

reduced, and yet still delivered, will strengthen our hearts in those afflictions and depressions of this city of God which we see in our times; and not only keep us from despair, but give us a lively hope, increase our faith, and stir up our courage always to work, and never to despond, when we know that God is on our side, and that we must overcome in the end, if we faint not, and give up the cause, for want of trust in God, and lose both our labour and reward.

Therefore, that we may see that nothing new has befallen us, let us look into the several ages of the world. Whom find we that walked with God, or fought on his side, but Abel, Seth, Enoch, and Noah, before the flood?

Then was the whole world destroyed for its wick-edness, except eight persons. After the flood, how soon did Nimrod and the builders of Babel declare their pride! and the whole world received this principle of the Devil, and governed themselves by it; and the army of God was confined within the small family of Abraham.

And when God had rescued a nation to himself, and given them his law, they were the fewest of all Deut. vii. 7. people, a stubborn and stiff-necked generation, that Ps. lxxviii. set not their heart aright, nor sought after God. S. They stoned their prophets, and killed those whom Matt. xxiii. God sent to reclaim them; till at last God re-37. moved them too, and scattered them among the heathen.

Then the Devil boasted in his conquests, and set up his banners for tokens; he possessed all the temples and thrones in the world: none appeared against him but a few heathen philosophers, who were themselves in half pay with him, had sucked many of his principles with their milk; but yet were assisted by God, and spoke noble things in defence of love, till by it, as by a clue, they discovered God himself, or found that love was almighty; and they made it the first former of all things. They battered pride with mighty arguments, and brought upon themselves the rage of the Devil, who kept them low and poor and despised, and armed kings and states against them, and raised many of them to a sort of martyrdom. Thus deplorable was the condition of the world then; a few stifled embers only left, and all the torrents of the world, all their violence let loose upon them, to quench them.

It was now time for God himself to appear in defence of his own cause, which in the hands of men had been betrayed, overpowered, conquered, and only not entirely lost.

And lo he comes! a body is prepared for him, and God was made flesh.

Now let us seriously attend this conflict; for XV. The grand never before, nor ever again, will two such comtwixt Christ batants enter the lists. Here is a creature so mighty, that he dares contend with God; and here is God humbled into a man, to subdue that spirit which had overthrown all mankind; and Christ grapples with him as a man, without interposing his Godhead, (for that had been no contest,) and to shew what man might have done, and may still do.

> I need not here again tell you of the quarrel upon which these two fought; it is the same we have been speaking of, the same that St. Michael fought before, that is, pride and love; which of these is the most noble and most mighty.

and the Devil.

Michael defended his cause well, and was victorious; but Christ acted what Michael could not. Since the Devil would not be persuaded by arguments, Christ here brings him to the test, to experiment the powers of love and of pride; and that with all the disadvantages imaginable; love in its lowest condescension exposed to pride enraged in its altitude.

Christ came of poor parents, born in a stable, not room for him in a common inn; he lived destitute and forlorn, without a place to lay his head in, worse provided for than foxes or birds: he chose poor men and unlearned for his followers; he was despised, persecuted, slandered, called a glutton, and a drunkard, a madman, a very devil: he had neither form Isa. liii. 2,3. nor beauty; a man of sorrows and acquainted with griefs: we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despised and rejected of men; and they esteemed him not. His virtue was omnibus ornamentis spoliata, void of all outward ornaments to recommend it, according to Plato's qualification, and may be called a prophecy of the Just One, and of his passion. His arms were blessing and praying and instructing; he never used his power to hurt any, but to heal his very enemies; he went about doing good to all, and loved his enemies more intensely than they could hate him: and though they requited him with mischief for his good-will, yet he always returned good to them for their evil. He came unto his own, and his own received him not: the only visible church he had upon the earth had taken arms with the enemy: the Scribes and Pharisees were his sorest persecutors; the Sanhedrim bought him, preferred a thief and a murderer before him, and pro-

cured his death with violent outcries; one of his own disciples betrayed him, another forswore him: all forsook him: he was left to tread the winepress alone, exposed single to all the malice and scorn of men and devils; the agony of his soul forcing him into such an astonishment and exceeding sorrow as was never heard of since the world began; a bloody sweat making its passage through skin and clothes. and falling down in great drops upon the ground. Lastly, his Father himself forsook him-in his greatest extremity, hanging upon the cross, betwixt two thieves, and filled with the reproaches of all about him; shaking their heads, and thrusting out their tongues at him. His Father forsook him! That only could make him cry out; yet did not that itself overcome his love, for he entirely and willingly submitted himself. He bowed his head in obedience, and gave up the ghost: he resigned his soul into the hands of his Father who had forsaken him, trusting in infinite love, that it can never fail; and died praying for his murderers, shewing the transcendence of his love above their malice.

And here behold the wisdom as well as goodness of love! that same method which pride and malice suggest to destroy Christ, that was it which most advanced the glory of his love. And let us here adore the almighty power of love, that out of all the evils pride was able to invent, could bring such infinite good!

And by the rule of contraries, here we may see the folly as well as the impotence of pride!

When it is arrived at the full of its own wishes, that is always its destruction. For when love has borne all that pride can do, when it sees it can go no further, it returns upon itself with impatience, and rage, and madness.

When the Devil had nailed Christ to the cross, he thought himself a victor; and had been so, if that could have moved Christ to impatience or distrust; or if he had withdrawn himself from his sufferings, either for the shame or the pain; for then his love had been conquered, it had fled the field, not being able to abide the shock.

But Christ supported that trial with a godlike patience and constancy, and, his love unshaken, remained more than conqueror. That old serpent left his sting in the cross, and fled away disarmed, ashamed, confounded! And the grave of Christ, which he thought to have kept shut for ever, was made the gate to open the triumphs of love into hell, where the spirits of pride did gnash their teeth with unextinguishable rage, to find that love was unconquerable, and that its lowest condescensions turn to its greatest glory: for what can conquer that, which has the virtue to bring good out of evil? Thus you see how Christ has spoiled the principalities and powers of pride by the arms of his love, and hath made a shew of them openly, triumphing col. ii. 15. over them in his cross; that is, in the humiliation which is the great power of love, and having loosed Acts ii. 24. the pains of death; because it was not possible that he should be holden of it. He arose gloriously to the astonishment of his wretched guards, and all the affrighted legions of hell; whom he chained to his triumphal chariot, and when he ascended up on Eph. iv. 8. high, he led captivity captive, or a multitude of captives, (as our margin reads it,) and gave gifts unto men, bestowed his royal donatives liberally among

his own soldiers, who had fought under his banner, and now attended on his triumph, and shared in the glory of it.

Eph. iv. 9. Now that he ascended, what is it but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth?

He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things.

This shews that the glory of love consists in its condescensions; and its glory rises proportionably high to the lowness of its condescension: thus the meanest condescension rises to the very highest glory; and this fills or fulfils all things, includes all things; for all things are contained between the highest and the lowest. And this is *fulfilling all righteousness*, all the demands of love towards our righteousness making us like itself: and this includes in it the full goodness and power of God, that is, the utmost condescension of love. So that now we see in Christ all the fulness of the Godhead dwelling bodily; and we are complete in him. And from hence let me make the apostle's inference and prayer for you. That we may be rooted and

And from hence let me make the apostle's inference Eph. iii. 17, and prayer for you, That ye may be rooted and grounded in love, because so, and never otherwise, you will be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that thus ye may be filled with all the fulness of God. Observe how the inspired apostle rejoices even to ecstacy upon this subject! The fulness of God! that is, all we or any creature can hold of him, consists in what we understand of the nature of love: and then, to our eternal comfort, the love of Christ passes all knowledge, that is, no know-

ledge can comprehend it all, and therefore it can afford still new matter of joy and rapture to all created understandings for ever and ever. And may not this contemplation raise us to the courage of an apostle? It will certainly, if we let this good seed stay in our hearts till it take root; if we do not choke it with the foolish principles of pride, or make it give place to the cares and riches and pleasures of this life, it will bring our hearts to the firmness of an angel, and make us see nothing that can terrify us: we shall be ready to join with St. Paul in his holy exultation, and say, Who shall separate Rom. viii. us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or 35. distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, For thy sake are we killed all the day long; we are counted as sheep for the slaughter: nevertheless, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him who loved us. For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

And now, as a conclusion to all that has been XVI. said, we may learn this, that the best guard we can of the have against falling into heresy is to watch carefully whole. against all the inroads and temptations of pride; which I have shewn to lie at the bottom of all heresies, as the source from whence they spring. It corrupts the will, and, by that, vitiates the understanding, and inclines them by a strong bias to the

side of error, and in prejudice of the truth; which

is always founded upon and accompanied with the opposite of pride, that is, love and goodness, which is naturally productive of a sweetness and humility of temper, that renders us docible and unprejudiced: without which, truth cannot be duly discerned, but is clouded from perverse and obstinate minds.

And as the humility of love is the best preservative against error and heresy, so is it the surest defence against most sort of sins in our private conversation; especially it enables us most effectually to perseverance in the faith, against that fiery trial of persecution, which, in one sort or other, comes

2 Tim. iii. to most men's share that will live godly in Christ Jesus

> But there is an higher pitch of perfection even than this. And that which I would raise men to, and desire to imitate myself, is that whereof the daily exercise and improvement is, by God's great mercy and goodness, afforded to every one of us, which is, not only to bear the persecution or the pride of others, which some may do even out of pride, obstinacy, or other vicious principle; but chiefly to banish pride out of yourselves; to look upon the meanest man in the world as a member of Christ, and so equal to yourself; and therefore to condescend to the lowest offices that may do him good, to bear his infirmities and injuries with patience, (which is the true magnanimity,) as Christ also did bear ours: and that you think this so far from being dishonourable, as that you may esteem it the greatest glory and praise of love, wherein the happiness of heaven does consist. And if angels were thrown out of heaven for despising man, and

Christ died to redeem man, and is himself a man, and loves and values the meanest man, what is that man that despises another?

And if even in heaven there was war, and folly and blasphemy among the angels there, and misunderstanding the nature of God, how should this make us patient to one another's infirmities! How solicitous and careful to secure ourselves! How reasonable will it hence appear to keep a watchful eye upon the least progress of pride or self-conceit, which was potent to disturb the seat of the blessed, and overthrow spirits which were heavenly-born!

That therefore you should justly abhor the pride of this world, to see a man despise not only his inferiors, (which was the sin of angels,) but his equals and superiors! to think himself beyond every man he meets! and that it is below his greatness (forsooth) to receive an injury from any! This is the character of a hero, so much courted in romances and plays, (the gospel of this world's honour;) a fool swelled with pride even to blasphemy! Is it not nauseous to see him brave thunder, whose scull is not proof against the sliding of a tile from a house-top? a weak piece of flesh, whose foundation is in the dust, the food of worms, that is crushed before the moth! A man that is not able to encounter a disease, to hear him rally against God, and to think this either wit or courage! That men of spirit (as they call themselves) should be fond of a vice which proceeds merely from want of sense! and not rather to follow the advice and example of a God, which is, that you would think it your greatest honour to become innocent and harmless, loving, and free from pride as little children are, (which is

taught in the gospel for this day,) and that with such courage, that you would rather choose to pluck out your eyes, and cut off your hands, than to offend the least, the most inconsiderable of mankind, who are created by God after his own image, and are the price of the blood of Christ: that you would believe the argument of honour to be decided, which has been bandied by the angels of heaven, and determined there by God himself, that it consists in love, and not in pride; but more sensibly by the incarnation and sufferings of Christ, which makes it, as it were, visible to our eyes.

That you would therefore suffer yourselves to be persuaded by your own reason, which will shew you the restless miseries which attend upon pride, and the beauties and great glory of love, in the which if you can delight yourselves, you have already tasted of heaven, and are heirs of immortal honour. Amen.

And let this comfort us in our faint longings, languid attempts, and many failings in our spiritual warfare; and let this silence all our weak murmurings at the providence of God, which has, for infinitely wise ends, not fathomable by us, permitted the fall of man, and wars and divisions upon earth; since for this end, no doubt, among many others, he has made known to us that there was war in heaven; and that as the conquest can only be by his strength and grace in us, so it will end in infinite and eternal victory and triumph to those who trust wholly in him by faith in Christ, humbled and crucified for us; and who follow him manfully to the end of that race which he, our great Prophet and Guide, has not only pointed out to us, but, as our Captain, has led us, and run before us, and fought

the same fight which he would have us to fight, and wherein he will assist us, and protect us, that the gates of hell shall never prevail against us; and has already, in our cause, and in our name and nature, triumphed over every power of the enemy, and taken possession of heaven for us, as our Head, the soul and life of that body whereof we are members.

And as the soul does actuate all the members of the body, consequently it must raise all the members with the body: so that all who partake of the Spirit of Christ are sure that that Spirit must raise up their bodies, as certainly as it did raise up the body of Christ: Now if any man have not the Spi-Rom. viii. rit of Christ, he is none of his—But if the Spirit of him who raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you. Amen.

END OF VOL. VII.



